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## LATIN AMERICA REPORT

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## CALDERON BERTI EXPRESSES OPTIMISM ON OIL PRICES

Caracas RESUMEN in Spanish 20 Jun 82 p 28

[Text] The Ministry of Energy and Mines (MEM) got news from abroad to the effect that Great Britain was planning to raise the price of its petroleum, information that was confirmed when it was ascertained that the concerns operating in the North Sea were adjusting their prices upward, raising the price of the Forties crude from \$31 to \$33.50 per barrel, of the Brent crude from \$31.10 to \$33.40 per barrel, and of the Ninian crude from \$30.60 to \$33.10 per barrel, reflecting increases which range from \$2.40 to \$2.50 per barrel. Minister Humberto Calderon Berti emphasized before the Economics Commission of the Chamber of Deputies his belief that the minimum export estimates of an average 1.42 million barrels daily will be met this year, based on the assumption that an upswing in world demand is expected in the industrialized countries because inventories are being depleted at a faster rate than anticipated, namely, 3.5 million barrels per day.

Those prospects lead to the anticipation that, in the opinion of the head of the MEM, "the revenue shortfall" due to the drop in the prices and exports of hydrocarbons this year will not exceed 13 billion bolivars.

For its part, Venezuelan Petroleum, Inc (PDVSA) announced that higher prices for some white products, such as liquefied petroleum gases, naphthas and distillates, including aviation fuel (JP-A1), would go into effect as of 7 June. Thus, the price of butane was raised by \$20 a metric ton, of naphthas by 3 cents to 4 cents an equivalent gallon (3.8 liters), and of distillates by 4 cents a gallon. The price of aviation fuel will be adjusted by 3-1/2 cents a gallon.

PDVSA pointed out that the prices of some of these products (butane and naphthas) tend to firm up during the summer months, while the firming up of prices in other instances is due to purchases to build up inventories that are unusually depleted. This conduct, it pointed out, is consistent with the business policy of price fixing of petroleum by-products within the dynamics of the international petroleum market.

#### As to Gasoline

With regard to the domestic gasoline market, the period covered by this report registered situations such as the real or imagined adulteration of

gasoline with water (reportedly by only one station in Maracay). While the sensation created by the news alerted the public, a director of the PDVSA was constrained to announce that "the gasolines coming out of the national refineries are not adulterated." The mobilization of 100 inspectors to monitor the situation was announced.

On the other hand, the head of the MEM reported that despite the new increases in the prices of the product, domestic consumption had gone up from the 26.8 million liters per day consumed prior to the rise. It is estimated that the rise in gasoline prices and in its export duties represent additional revenues for the Treasury of a little more than 5 billion bolivares.

#### Use of LPG

The MENEVEN enterprise, according to studies conducted by this subsidiary of the PDVSA, would consider the use of liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) as a partial substitute for automotive fuel in the Venezuelan market, via a suitable market strategy and an appropriate operational installation in that connection. It is estimated that the fuel needs of some 100,000 vehicles throughout the country could be met with this product which, it is asserted, will make it possible to save in the cost of fuel, lower the cost of maintenance, and reduce the risks arising from accidents, besides reducing environmental pollution, it is asserted.

#### We Are More Dependent

State Minister Maritza Izaguirre, director of the Office of Coordination and Planning (CORDIPLAN), emphasizes the fact that "at the end of 20 years, we are more dependent than when we started the exploitation of crude." Minister Izaguirre foresees an increase in prices of 2 percent to 3 percent via the mechanism of "indirect effects." She honestly acknowledges that "there have always been mistakes (referring to the 6th National Plan), but the magnitudes [sic] or the commitments of the government at this time are such that one feels more keenly the changes on this score."

8414

CSO: 3010/1801

## PLANS, PROJECTS OF PETROLEUM INDUSTRY DISCUSSED

Caracas RESUMEN in Spanish 27 Jun 82 pp 25, 26

[Text] At this time, the petroleum industry keeps carrying out the plans and programs in accordance with the budgets approved in the course of 1981 for implementation in 1982, Dr Humberto Calderon Berti, the minister of energy and mines, said on the occasion of the Third Engineering and Consultation Session recently held at the Association of Engineers of Venezuela.

"Since 1976," the minister said, "the industry has been undergoing a period of unrestricted operational expansion which is evident in all the aspects of its activity. Exploratory programs are being carried out on the continental shelf. Important gas discoveries have been made north of Paria and east of Margarita. Discoveries to date total 1.5 billion barrels of recoverable petroleum, which at the current prices of the product represent resources to be exploited on the order of \$40 billion or \$50 billion.

"On the other hand," he said, "we have been pushing ahead rather vigorously with the evaluation programs of the Orinoco Oil Belt. There has been talk about the amount of petroleum deposits in the Belt since 1967. Figures were being mentioned. There was talk of 700 billion barrels, and even 2 quadrillion barrels. But sensibly and responsibly," he added, "we could not continue quoting figures without implementing a program that would determine, tell us, what is really the amount of petroleum in the belt and, in second place, how much of that quantity can be extracted. And for that reason, we set for ourselves a goal from the very start of this administration that by 1983, we must have sufficient data produced by exploratory programs to determine the amount of hydrocarbon resources in the Belt. Hence, in order to distribute the load and the responsibility in a more equitable manner, our four operational concerns have been carrying out exploratory programs. The results," he stated, "are frankly promising, and we expect to have an estimate of the amount of resources in the Belt by the end of next year.

"In the second place," he added, "we have been carrying out programs that enable us to find out more about the most advanced technology to exploit the petroleum in the Belt, to improve that technology, to increase the rate of recovery. And for that reason, we have seen that in the course of last year, there were a number of field research programs intended to provide basic information about the best technology we should use to substantially improve the recovery rate of the deposits in the Belt.

"But on the other hand," he pointed out, "projects and programs of great significance to the country, such as the changes in the refining pattern of our refineries, are being implemented."

The minister of energy and mines talked about refining developments since 1976, as well as the downturn residual fuel has been undergoing in international markets, due in particular to coal competition. Hence, he pointed out, the extremely high participation of Venezuelan engineering, as well as of materials and equipment.

Elsewhere in his speech, Minister Calderon Berti said: "I have pointed out on several occasions that much the same as the programs that were implemented in the 1950's and were continued during the first democratic governments of Presidents Betancourt, Leoni and Caldera, at which time they were greatly emphasized and great attention was given to civil engineering programs--of infrastructural works, inside the national territory--which, jointly with a lucid policy of Venezuelization and increasing Venezuelan civil engineering participation, made it possible to develop substantial technological capacity in that field of engineering within the national territory, we consider that the programs to be carried out...at all times through the Ministry of Energy and Mines, have received considerable attention from us in fomenting, in facilitating, the participation of Venezuelan engineering." He stated also that "we have drafted at the ministry, in consultation with the PDVSA and with the approval of the Association of Engineers of Venezuela, a policy intended to bring about greater participation of Venezuelan engineering in the major projects we are carrying out." He said that "the increased participation of Venezuelan engineering will go into effect in the intensive petroleum and petrochemical activity contemplated in the expansion and modernization plans under implementation or under study, which should constitute enough incentive to speed up the development of national engineering concerns, as well as the establishment of new enterprises that will be able to provide the most varied specialized services..." He underscored that such participation will conform to the main interests of the country, seeking at all times the maximum use of human resources. And to such an end, he pointed up the context of Decree No 2345 of 8 October 1981. He said that all this constitutes a collection of policy guidelines, all of them aimed at increasing the participation of Venezuelan engineering in the activities of the petroleum and petrochemical industry.

#### OPEC's Decision Has Been Giving Positive Results.

In the course of the Third Engineering and Consultation Session recently held at the Association of Engineers, Energy and Mines Minister Mumberto Calderon Berti gave an account of developments in the petroleum sector at the international level, pointed out its domestic impact, and said, "... we must note with satisfaction that the decision adopted by the OPEC (March 1982) has been giving positive results. In the first place," he noted, " a distinct recovery has been observed in the international petroleum market. The Arabian light crude, which at the time of the OPEC meeting was pegged at \$28 per barrel--official price of \$34 per barrel--currently is at the same level as the official price, i.e., \$34 per barrel."

And Minister Calderon Berti continued explaining: "A substantial recovery has been observed in all hydrocarbon products--residual fuel, diesel oil, naphtha--on the spot markets, that is to say, in Rotterdam, the Mediterranean, the east coast of the United States, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean. All this makes us optimistic for the near future. So far this year, Venezuela has exported 1.44 million barrels of petroleum per day, as contrasted with an export goal of 1.42 million barrels per day.

"All the studies made by technicians of the ministry and the PDVSA, and by the OPEC countries--through the organization's Economics Commission, General Secretariat, and Follow-Up Committee established in the last extraordinary meeting of the OPEC--show that a turnaround in the demand should occur in the second half of this year, probably early in July, which for the OPEC will represent an output of about 19.5 million barrels [per day] in the third quarter and about 22.5 million to 23.5 million barrels [per day] in the last quarter.

"All this leads us to assert that the revenue shortfall produced as a result of the decline in production and the drop in prices should not exceed 13 billion bolivars, and we are going to attain the export goal of 1.42 million barrels per day with ease."

8414

CSO: 3010/1801



## BRIEFS

MINISTER UGUETO ON EXPENDITURES--At the Economics Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, Finance Minister Luis Ugueto explained one of the more important factors affecting state resources, as regards the "rigidity" of expenditures into which the government has fallen as if in a "deadly trap." "The number of state employees (in the numerous agencies) grew in 8 years from about 300,000 to more than 1 million at present; public debt increased so much that servicing it alone at this time costs as much as the whole budget at the time of the Caldera administration." "Tentatively, on the basis of preliminary estimates," it was said, "the proposed budget for 1983 could be on the order of 70 billion to 75 billion bolivares. However, in view of the high outlay needed to take care of the 'rigidity' of expenditures implied by that more than 1 million people working for the state, as well as the huge 'monkey' of the total recorded public debt, which would be on the order to 110 billion to 120 billion bolivars, ... one cannot see how there can be resources available to invest in the area of the productive apparatus that will bring about an effective and comprehensive development of the country." "If the same people who have been handling and mismanaging the country continue to do so," they finally said, "no one will have any illusions there will be a change for the better, but for the worse, in the already sad state of affairs." [Excerpts] [Caracas RESUMEN in Spanish 20 Jun 82 p 27] 8414

CSO: 3010/1801

## CENTRAL AMERICA SEEKS COORDINATED AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Guatemala EL IMPARCIAL in Spanish 12 Jun 82 pp 1, 9

[Text] The minister of agriculture, Mr Otto Martinez, stated today that Central America, Panama and the Dominican Republic will seek a coordinated agricultural development.

After attending the second meeting of the Regional Council for Agricultural Cooperation which took place this week in San Jose, Costa Rica, the official stated that the countries in the region will undertake coordinated actions of mutual support to try to solve the present agricultural crisis.

Martinez made known the declaration signed during the meeting:

Declaration of the ministers of agriculture of Central America, Panama and the Dominican Republic during the second meeting of the Regional Council of Agricultural Cooperation:

Considering:

- I. That the wealth of our renewable natural resources is potentially capable of producing a great variety of agricultural, livestock and fisheries products for food, domestic industrial consumption, import substitution, for exports and for alternative conventional energy sources;
- II. That by facilitating the development and efficient use of the human resources devoted to the agricultural, livestock and fisheries sector, we shall guarantee that there will be agents capable of handling the technologies and the methodologies developed to enhance growth with a maximum of efficiency, while at the same time protecting the environment;
- III. That while our countries individually can be considered small and dependent, as a group they form a region of more than 550,000 square km with more than 30 million inhabitants, which, coupled with our strategic geographical situation, gives us a privileged position with respect to the vast consumer markets of North American, Mexico, Venezuela and the Caribbean, and

IV. That the continuing challenge faced by our agricultural, livestock and fisheries sectors of ensuring an increased production and greater efficiency of services and producers is intimately related to the integral development of the farmer, in order to attain the peace, social tranquility and economic welfare of our peoples.

Therefore, we declare that:

1. We are optimistic that, with the good will of our nations, the wealth of our natural resources and absolute faith in our capabilities, we will meet the challenge to solve the present crisis through the reconstruction and revival of the agricultural sectors. We will also devote our efforts to expand markets outside the region, to seek the self-sufficiency which is viable in the region, to increase the sector's technical capacity, and to improve the information and institutional training systems of the public and private organizations which support the sector.

2. We will carry out a coordinated action of mutual support; we will attract financial and technological resources, reducing those barriers which limit actions and joint programs; we will develop our negotiating capacity in an integral form as well as the capacity for technological and commercial interchange.

3. To face the problem, we need to define policies that create the conditions and the possibilities for development and we need the financial and technical resources to make these policies operational. We are interested not only in producing more but also in guaranteeing food for our peoples. We struggle to develop the economies, especially the rural sectors, of our countries to ensure the national and regional social welfare to which we all aspire.

4. We have agreed to develop a series of projects that address the priorities of the agricultural and livestock sector of the region to attain the following objectives:

--To strengthen the economies of our countries so that the agricultural and livestock sector may produce and meet the growing national, regional, export and manufacturing demands.

--To assure the economies of our countries that the strengthening of the agricultural and livestock sector will improve employment, incomes and the quality of rural life.

--We are convinced that in order to obtain adequate levels of profit for the farmers it is necessary to integrate production, conservation, commercialization and consumption within the framework of a vigorous national and regional agroindustrial development policy.

5. We ask the international organizations and friendly governments that have supported us in this task for an even greater effort and understanding for our nations.



6. Finally, we ratify our interest in the consolidation of the mechanism of the Regional Council of Agricultural Cooperation and hope that the IIAS will continue to offer and expand technical and administrative support to its secretariat.

(Signed) Francisco Morales Hernandez, Costa Rica; Miguel Muyschondt Yudice, El Salvador; Otto Martinez, Guatemala; Miguel Angel Bonilla, Honduras; Pedro A. Blandon, Nicaragua; Rene A. Gonzalez, Panama; Samuel Encarnacion, Republica Dominicana.

9341

CSO: 3010/1813

## BRIEFS

MEXICAN AMBASSADOR ON GUATEMALAN IMMIGRANTS--Gen Rafael Macedo Figueroa, ambassador of Mexico, told the press yesterday that Mexican border authorities do not allow armed men who may be involved with Guatemalan subversives to enter the country. There are several stories about hundreds of persons who have emigrated to Mexico in the last few months and now live in towns near the Guatemalan border. It has even been said that these emigrants are against the government and escape to Mexican territory when pursued by the national armed forces. The Mexican ambassador in Guatemala, General Macedo, said yesterday that his country's officials do not allow armed people to enter the country. For that reason--he assured us--these unfounded stories cannot be believed. The diplomat said many Guatemalans, as well as other Central Americans, are emigrating to Mexico. Some are refugees; some are looking for work. A census is being taken to determine the situation of these immigrants. He speculated that some refugees could be people who have not been able to succeed in their countries of origin and are going to Mexico to fulfill some plan. [Text] [Guatemala PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 4 Jun 82 p 2] 9341

CSO: 3010/1813

## INADEQUACIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES REVIEWED

Buenos Aires SOMOS in Spanish 9 Jul 82 p 20

[Article by Rodolfo Tecera del Franco: "The New Shift"]

[Text] In a democracy, the political parties are fundamental tools for determining the political power. And they as institutions express the different views of a community. In some instances they also reflect traditional collective emotions. All this is contained in their doctrines and platforms. The parties which are depleted in the formation of their leadership structures are known as "parties of cadres," while those which attract and agglutinate large majorities are usually called "parties of masses." In our country, only two national parties of masses and cadres can be mentioned: the Justicialist Party and the Radical Civic Union. The masses predominate in the former, while the cadres do so in the other.

Some respectable groups of cadres can be retrieved from the other parties. The Christian Democrats, the Conservatives, the Developmentalists and the Communists are in this category. The others are merely political groups contrived virtually by a single person who is a self-styled mentor, decider and even owner of his party institution. In the provincial areas there are also parties of masses and cadres with sufficient tradition.

As a result of this analysis we can claim that the greatest responsibility for the political process rests with the Justicialists and Radicals. But this does not mean rejecting, much less discrediting the other groups, but rather viewing realistically what is essential, so as not to lose the course or become confused by what is incidental, minority or symbolic. And this is the situation, at least it has been thus far. But let us quickly observe the inadequacies, flaws or problems besetting the political parties, and the difficulties that they confront in exercising their responsibility. First: in some minor parties, the constituent illegality of the institution, owing to the spuriousness of their membership, which was not properly checked as a result of an inspectional defect. Second: but even with foundational legality, there is an insufficiency, when in many instances the legitimacy of the representative status of their leadership cadres is lacking. In other words, when the desires of the members are not reflected in the leading authorities, and often not in the candidacies that it backs as a party, either. Third: the doctrinal fidelity that is essential between the main statements on the basis of which the group has been formed, and the party's political conduct or, if pertinent, that of the representatives of that party.

Fourth: the manipulation of which the parties have been victims on the part of deliberate, proscriptive or distorting legislation which, just like the proportional system that once was adopted, has even discredited the nation's very legislative bodies. Also applicable here is the unfortunate constant element in de facto governments, tempting fate with officialist political groups which, despite their repeated failure, unbalance the normal political course. Fifth: the proper selection of candidates, who do not always emerge from the militants or from personal qualifications, but rather from circumstantial ploys based on interests or minor palace "coups." The parties must guarantee an authentic "cursus honorum" [political career] for the citizens that plan to lead the state. Hence the schools for political leaders are a substantial requirement for the parties, and not a political luxury or diversion. The responsibility of the political parties is now a critical issue. And despite the fact that they have been subjected to a forced standstill, which converted their legal structure into a "deferred" and illegitimate mask, the political civilians will have to draw reserve forces and promptly undertake their necessary restructuring and their proper doctrinal updating.

2909

CSO: 3010/1935

## TRANSITION STAGE DIFFICULT BUT NECESSARY, AFFIRMS WRITER

Buenos Aires MERCADO in Spanish 1 Jul 82 pp 12-14

[Commentary by Carlos Floria: "Reflections on the Transition"]

[Text] The topic of the transition now has the timeliness of something that is necessary. At the beginning of the military intervention in 1976, it should have become one of the leading issues, but that is how things and the experience of peoples are. When the crisis knocks at our door, we heed what we should have understood at the outset. Years ago, in these very pages, although in others as well, we wrote about the transition as one of the matters that demanded careful attention. And at academic meetings held in March 1978 at the Di Tella Institute, our report was on "The Method of Transition and the Party System."

Of course, we are not attempting to make this evident out of intellectual vanity or anything of the sort; which in any event would be a sign of foolishness and poor taste. It is simply an attempt to show that the issue was a problem from the beginning of the military regime, as is usually the case, or should be the case, in any autocratic regime. Through an odd coincidence, in 1968, that is, 10 years before and 2 years after the military intervention of 1966, we proposed, with our friends on CRITERIO (No 1549, of 13 June 1968) a plan for the transition "from the revolutionary government to constitutional order," which for reasons that are again current, I shall explain briefly later.

The first thing that becomes evident is that, if a political regime is typified by autocratism, it is naturally transitory. The pure regimes, terming them such from the standpoint of their principle of legitimacy, are monocratic or polycratic (to use a handy classification); in other words, with a "closed" government and society, or with an "open" government and society. The typical example of the former is the totalitarian regime; examples of the latter are the democratic ones, in their different forms: presidentialist, parliamentarian, coalition, etc. The principle of autocratic legitimacy, if you will allow the expression, is not a pure regime established as a monarchy or a polycracy. It has features of both: the closed government of the monarchies; the relatively open society of the polycracies. Its destiny is not to endure; it is to be transitory. At some time it must choose its lodging place: totalitarianism or the constitutional republic.

Based upon that evidence, a military regime which, by its nature, belongs to the world of autocracies, is called upon to consider a strategy for transition. If,

owing to the dominant features of Argentine society, its egalitarian qualities and the values to which we Argentines attach priority, even though we have not yet achieved a decent political regime to reflect them, the recurring political objective is the reconstruction of the democratic republic, it seems sensible, in each crisis, to consider the need to devise what is termed a strategy for democratization which, it must be said, entails a strategy for transition per se. So, the transition appears as a kind of regime in itself: brief, but with an internal logic, and with groundrules that contribute to the success of the transition from one political situation to another.

A strategy for transition poses the following questions: How does one move from one concrete political system to another? Or rather, how does one political system come to "be" another? The two questions are related but different. The first involves a deliberate desire aimed at producing the "passage," and implies reflecting on the role of the innovator, the reformer or the revolutionary. The second deals with the ways for passing in themselves. From this standpoint, the change of a regime occurs through continuity (which is not necessarily "continuism," based on the combative expression), that is, through internal development, through an endogenous transformation; or, through discontinuity, in other words, through a break in the system. Although the notion of a break evokes a sudden, fundamental change, violence or revolution, there is no necessary coincidence between those terms. Great Britain since the 18th century, the United States since the Philadelphia Convention and Sweden since 1809 have undergone fundamental changes, but without breaks, amid a certain type of continuity. Consequently, the breaking of the system does not necessarily depend on violence or sudden change, but rather: a. on the change's taking place not through the internal rules of transformation, but rather through the repudiation or violation of those rules; and, b. the actual alteration of the structures of authority.

To speak of continuity in change and discontinuity in the opposite instance can make sense. Referring to continuous discontinuities, or to discontinuous continuities, is not necessarily a play on words. The history of the Argentines shows different experiences, sometimes aimed at bringing about major changes in the political system, and at other times at bringing about changes of political system. Pavon in 1861 and the Saenz Pena reform of 1912 are very interesting examples. The "liberal revolution" of 1861 (not counted as such in most of the history texts) was an instance of discontinuity, of a break in the system. The reform of 1912 was an attempt at change in the system, amid continuity. In the first instance, the change was sudden and discontinuous; in the second, the transition was endogenous and continuous.

Hence, when we speak of transition it is not a reference, in history and political science, to spasmodic experiences without a strategy or meaning. It is a term that expresses very complex experiences. Can the movement from one hegemonic, non-competitive structure to another that is set up as overtly competitive be "continuous"? Strictly speaking, the 1912 reform includes such an attempt, if one agrees that the "regime" (in the pejorative statements of the time) was actually hegemonic.

The experience and reading of history indicate that the passage from one competitive structure to another which is not competitive is, without exception, discontinuous; but that, in the other direction, conversely, the rule is less restrictive: if the



non-competitive structure is autocratic, but not totalitarian, it is possible to conceive of a transition with a certain type of continuity. A controversial but demonstrable assertion, it does not conceal the tremendous difficulties of the experience. Up until now, the case of Spain has contained very important lessons. Just as the discontinuity was obvious with Franco's advent to power after the Civil War of 1936, the profound continuity appears to have been the result of a deliberate strategy for transition, emerging from the inner recesses of the Franco regime, infiltrated before the death of the caudillo and directed by the king, Juan Carlos, and the prime minister (or president), Suarez. At Moncloa, the political parties agreed upon political groundrules; they upheld them during the transition, and they still uphold them (with effort and regional exceptions) at present. Strictly speaking, the transition has not ended, because it usually "penetrates" the constitutional state, to stabilize it. If it is left at the door, if the "joint partnership" pact that usually creates transitional regimes is abandoned as soon as the formal barrier of elections has been crossed, the regime weakens, the temptations for anarchy or totalitarianism reappear and the new regime falters.

The political future of Argentina was planned, and was to be conceived and built on the basis of a reality. The reality was the force of a hegemonic political system, of a military regime emerging from the discontinuity that occurred upon the intervention of 1976. That military regime did not have the same significance as did the military governments of the past, clearly transitory and unstable political orthopedics which, despite their recurrence, lacked an enduring ambition. The military regime, as such, had already penetrated in 1966, but the presence of a military caudillo such as General Onganía and the consecutive internal coups which culminated in General Lanusse's access to power changed the nature of the attempt. In 1976, that attempt was more definite, the internal groundrules were clearly stated, the battle against subversion imposed a sort of military "coalition" that paid heed to the succession and the features of a regime became obvious. Hence, there was required a strategy for transition, a deliberate, rational action that would make use of the "starting place" that the regime represented.

Nevertheless, that strategy was non-existent. The war, and the critical post-war period, quickly revealed the lack of that strategy, which was necessary in any event and yet persistently lacking. In 1966, there was no war situation, not even an internal one. There was a widespread national consensus among Argentines that there had not been a stable political regime in the country during the last half century. We Argentines by then had sufficient combined experience for nearly all of us to have learned about political injustice, arbitrariness and irrationality. The type of regime desired was the constitutional democratic kind, and very few groups (except for the "ultras") reneged on that objective, either in the civilian or the military camp. A third element in that consensus pointed to the need to associate security with economic and social development, and with monetary stability and a policy on income afforded by the former, as well as industrial expansion accompanied by technological innovation. Social mobility was part of our national belief, and a political regime that failed to take that aspiration into account would have to confront tension that would seriously impede its operation. The importance of those agreements, despite the vulnerable grounds for the reprehensible military coup of 1966, demarcated the area of our unresolved problems, excluding both the spurious solutions and fruitless discussions. The only outlet that the country had was the one leading to representative democracy, and the

only fruitful discussions were those the purpose of which was to decide on the means to be used to attain that goal.

So, it was both possible and desirable to devise a strategy for transition. It was likely that the four phases would be planned, reflected in this way for example: 1. institutionalization and limitation of the presidential role, from the standpoint of powers and time; 2. gradual reconstruction of the constitutional system; 3. election of governors and a national legislature, with the authorities appointed by the military regime coexisting with the authorities elected by the people, and both coexisting with suitable regulations; and, 4. presidential renewal, a phase wherein the maximum revolutionary responsibility was at stake, affording, therefore and on a single occasion, an appointment that was agreed upon. This is an example of gradual transition, with controversial risks and steps. It entailed certain assumptions: the political ability of the leading sectors, the internal discipline of the Armed Forces, the reduction of factionalism and the increase of rationality. It was like proposing an historic pact among Argentines, to arrive at a qualitatively different time after decades of disappointments. It was a transition through a kind of mixed civilian-military regime, finally reaching a constitutional state, without risking traumatic experiences that could submerge the country into anarchy or internal civil war.

As was evident, this transition did not occur. Instead of it, the political Argentina lagged behind events, statesmen were lacking and there was an abundance of adventurers and factions. Ten years later, we were to experience the breeding civil war, terrorism, repression, a new military regime, the near-war with Chile, the war with Great Britain, and its accompaniment, the defeat, the crisis in the military regime and the forced establishment of a new military government. In that sequence, there have been some moving experiences, a major achievement such as the victory over subversion, many failures, including a war heroically faced but probably poorly led or waged under technical conditions which, it has been found, were not fitting for carrying it out.

In any event, in a society without spirit, with Armed Forces irritated by the crisis and in a menacingly deliberative state, the military government appointed by the army is proposing, as we write these reflections on the last Sunday in June, to direct a transition toward a constitutional regime. Besieged by time, after 6 years wasted in political terms, needing roots in the Argentine community (because the "vacuum of society" entails a temptation toward decadence and destruction, and hence a very dangerous psychological situation) and anxious to reestablish the internal military peace without which no command or transition is possible, the military government must produce actions that will restore at least a part of the consensus that has been lost and dispel the prevailing skepticism.

Hence, the idea of transition makes sense. It is more difficult now than at other times, but it is rooted in the state of necessity of the political society and the military society. It entails a certain amount of moral authority and intelligence among the rulers, but also an agreement concerning the groundrules that will govern not only the transition, but also the phase of the founding of the constitutional regime. A civilized political battle, acceptable differences founded upon a basic national unity, rejection of the temptation toward unanimity, an affirmation of the party identities reflected in competing political and social plans, agreement on certain fundamental guidelines for our foreign policy, particularly with



regard to our conflict with Chile and our rights vis-a-vis Great Britain: these are the structural guidelines for a transition toward the "possible republic," as Juan Bautista Alberdi called it. If we Argentines have not yet learned that a civilized political regime is the necessary prerequisite for directing the economy, culture and foreign policy, allowing the society to express itself, we shall be living in collective mortal sin, and we shall be treated accordingly.

2909

CSO: 3010/1935

## FORMER PERONIST MINISTERS MOST LIKELY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 3 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Two Candidates Now In View"]

[Text] Yesterday, two ministers of former President Maria Estela Martinez de Peron emerged to the front rank of the group of potential Peronist candidates for the presidency of the nation, on what was the second day of political activity legally permitted in Argentina after over 6 years.

Dr Angel F. Robledo, aged 64, and considered the most skillful of the moderate politicians catapulted by the Peronists to high-ranking public office between 1973 and 1976, appeared to be competing in a battle that has been rather quiet thus far and unwilling to be recognized, with the former minister of economy, Dr Antonio Cafiero, aged 58, a professional and strong man in business, who managed to become a favorite of the trade union wing of Peronism. Now, however, Cafiero reportedly would have his only definite backing from personages in CGT [General Labor Confederation]-Brazil, and the 62 Organizations, headed by Mr Lorenzo Miguel.

This support is not slight within the Peronist group for one who is willing to spend time, money and energy on a presidential candidacy with a view toward the 1984 elections. But Cafiero (on the one hand, anti-Developmentist and, on the other, linked with a sector of the Church) is not unaware that he will have to maneuver shrewdly so that this backing will not preclude some kind of rapprochement with the chiefs of CGT-Azopardo, in which some of the most powerful trade union organizations are concentrated.

Until a few days ago, only the politicians from other parties, the military and, finally, the foreign diplomats could not exactly discern who would be the ones to take the lead among the Peronists insofar as presidential possibilities are concerned, as soon as what in horse-racing jargon as the "gate" is opened. But, at the end of a few days, it has been noted that the trade union contribution on behalf of Dr Cafiero's candidacy has begun, as a counterpart, strongly mobilizing some of the main leaders of CGT-Azopardo backing Dr Robledo.

It is a well-known fact that Dr Robledo's physical health is a problem that he must surmount in his political activity with extreme effort. This poses for the trade unionists who have two of their main leaders in the Messrs Jorge Triaca (plastics) and Luis Guerrero (metal workers) the problem of having available another personage

who could potentially take Robledo's place. In that context, the first place is occupied, for the present, by another lawyer (as Robledo himself is) of Mrs Peron: the former provisional president, Dr Italo Luder.

In recent years, the CGT-Azopardo Peronist trade unionists have stressed the feasibility of making a clear distinction between political activities and union activities. Nevertheless, they now agree that, if their adversaries in CGT-Brasil opt for a presidential candidacy, there is no recourse left for them other than to oppose it with another candidacy, "because the fate of trade unionism will then inevitably rest in the political area."

2909

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## IGLESIAS ROUCO EXAMINES DISCREPANCIES WITHIN PERONISM

Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 6 Jul 82 pp 1, 6

[Commentary by J. Iglesias Rouco: "Peronism Today"]

[Text] The government apparently has no intention of lifting the martial law immediately, nor, on the other hand, of spurring on the restructuring of the top echelons of the parties, despite the various plans for both circulating in different areas of power. According to our sources, the presidency has already decided to accept the continuity of the current party leaderships, for which the presence of "overseers" or "inspectors" would not be required in the internal election process. This decision is, in principle, at odds with the position ascribed up until a short time ago to several Army chiefs, such as General Trimarco, or Nicolaidese himself, favoring the "renewal" of the leadership of the political organizations.

Among different military circles, it is thought that the parties' position toward the government will gradually become radicalized after the announcement of an election date without a prior agreement with their leadership groups. What occurred during the last Justicialist meeting, last week, and the internal situation in the Radical Party seem to support this prediction. Even the moderate or "dialog-oriented" sectors of the majority parties have now begun to "harden," undoubtedly for the purpose of protecting their respective political "spaces" from the onslaughts of the left wings. In this way, the process of democratic "institutionalization" is being joined, from its very start, with the capacity for initiative of the left, just as occurred in 1970-73.

This problem, combined with those posed by the recomposition of the junta (during the past few hours, the secret negotiations among the three commanders-in-chief have continued) and the so-called external front, headed by the Malvinas and the Beagle, is absorbing the attention of the regime, even more than the disastrous economic situation, concerning the treatment of which the first (anticipated) differences have already started to be detected between Mr Dagnino Pastore and Mr Cavallo, a few hours before the minister's address.

## Revisionism and Non-Revisionism

As was to be expected, the initiation of the period of party "normalization," which the government intends to implement with the least possible trauma for the respective leaderships, has already triggered an internal Peronist war, in comparison with which the domestic Radical confrontations between the "national" or Balbinist

line, Mr Alfonsin and Mr Illia's group, constitute an example of monolithic reconciliation.

The first thing that becomes apparent to anyone who approaches the Peronism of the present time is that the differences or battle standards of its various groups are no longer agitating about verticalism or anti-verticalism, but rather about revisionism and non-revisionism; that is to say, about those who want to pass judgment on the Armed Forces, or at least on their chiefs, for all that has been done and not done since 1976, without excluding the grievous matter of the missing persons, and those who still maintain the need for an agreement with the military. However, the revisionists, now a majority, are still more or less linked with Mrs Peron.

Among the latter one notes the following groups:

1. That of the "hard-liners," headed by Lazaro Roca, former Senator Humberto Martiarena of Jujuy, former Deputy J. Labake of Cordoba and another former legislator, Rodolfo Kelly from Bahia Blanca.
2. The so-called "moderate verticalist group" headed by Mr Bittel, in whose company there are currently acting the Messrs Antonio Cafiero, Carlos Corach, Alberto Iribarne and Herminio Iglesias, as well as a group from the "league" of former Peronist governors, led by Eloy Camus. The Messrs Lorenzo Miguel and Carrasco comprise its main trade union platform.
3. The "centrist" verticalists, spurred on by Guardia de Hierro, under the command of the Messrs Alejandro Alvarez, Roberto Ares (former interior minister), Juan Carlos Beni (former senator) and Virginia Sanguinetti, as well as the "Social Democratic" trade unionist, Jose Rodriguez.
4. The so-called "unifying action" group, sponsored by the Messrs Angel Robledo, Corvalan Nanclares, Gomez Morales, Manuel Anchorena, Arauz Castex and Italo Luder. This group recently joined the "youth" of the magazine LINEA, formerly ENCUADRAMIENTO, which answers to former Deputy Ruben Contesti and Mr Marcelo Cabeza, new friends of the Iranian "ayatollahs" from whom, according to Peronist top echelons, they are receiving economic assistance. Hence (they add), the recent attacks on the United States from "unifying action." Just like the so-called "intermediate generation," and Peronists such as Dante Loss, Juan Chamero, Roberto Grabois and Adriana Amorio, this top echelon has backing from the trade unionists Guerrero, Triacca and Dieguez (secretary general of the La Plata CGT [General Labor Confederation]).
5. The "Galtierist" centrist group, consisting of the Messrs Julio and Humberto Romero, Jose Baez and Guillermo Hermida (former member of the Justicialist higher council). This sector has been considerably upset by the fall of Galtieri.

Insofar as military revisionism is concerned, the description "moderate" befits these five Peronist families, to a greater or lesser extent. To be added to them is the "left" of the "movement," headed by Mr Vicente Saadi, which is perhaps the most virulent from this standpoint. Currently aligned on Saadi's "staff" are the

Messrs Diaz Biale, Andres Framini, Sarabayruse and Juan Romero, Nilda Garre and Carrozo (a former councilman, influential in the "small towns"), and another part of the "league" of former governors, headed by Mr Hugo Mott. This "left" has recently been approached, with tacit adhesion, by the popular conservatism of Mr Solano Lima who, for this reason, did not attend the meeting called by Bignone in Congress. According to our sources, Mr Carlos Menem will soon join the "Saadi line." Menem, who has just returned from a trip to Libya, is said to have obtained there, as Contesti and Cabeza did in Iran, promises of economic aid.

### The Peronist 'Right'

The six major revisionist groups are opposed by only three Peronist "right wing" fronts:

1. The so-called "Peronist reaffirmation," inspired by the Messrs Raul Matera, Tessera del Franco Osella Munoz, Del Rio (still a member of the higher council) and Seru Garcia, former governor of Mendoza, as well as Lopez Bustos, former governor of Santiago del Estero. Its area of activity covers several sections of those provinces and localities in the provinces of Buenos Aires and Santa Fe.
2. The CEDES [Study Centers for a Social Democracy], comprised of the Messrs Sobrino Aranda, Rodolfo Vitar, Santiago Diaz Ortiz and Montenegro, former governor of Rio Negro. Its area of activity is the federal capital, Cordoba, Santa Fe and Rio Negro.
3. Mr Paladino and his friends, still associated with the plan of Mr Ricardo Yofre, who was undersecretary during the Videla government.

At the moment, it is not easy to ascertain the percentage of Peronism as a whole that is represented by these three non-revisionist conglomerates, but not even the most optimistic estimate it above 20 or 30 percent, gaged, obviously, not by votes but by party structure. In the long run, a great deal will depend on the relations of each with the military. For example, it is known that the groups of Matera, Robledo and Bittel have been and certainly are still maintaining contacts with Bignone and Reston, both of whom, as we have said, advocate not bringing about major changes in the parties' top echelons. Paladino also has contacts, or reportedly has them, with Yofre and Villarreal. On the other hand, Bittel, Ares, Lorenzo Miguel, Carlos Corach, Dante Tapia, Triacca and Guerrero have thus far talked preferably with Liendo and his collaborators (several of them with Galtieri and his followers as well, but that was another "plan" and it quickly vanished). Therefore, we shall have to wait until the channels of communication are reestablished and other new ones are created between the military and the Peronists, in order to learn the fate of the planned civilian-military pact, in the context of this battle between the "movement's" revisionists and non-revisionists. And all of this without precluding the possibility that Bignone and Reston may very well have changed their opinion regarding the renewal (or rather, non-renewal) of the Argentine political "leadership."



## PERONIST SCHISMS SURFACE AT FIRST LEGAL ASSEMBLY

Buenos Aires SOMOS in Spanish 9 Jul 82 pp 18-21

[Article by Tabare Areas: "Squabble at the Castelar"]

[Text] Among the Peronists, the "long faces" are still clearly showing that the unrest is deepseated and that the "predicament" which occurred on Friday, 2 July, at the Hotel Castelar has been difficult to digest. Even the least disgruntled leaders know that the squabble that day displaced the Justicialists with respect to the party spectrum and also the military front, now with arguments up their sleeve that they would not have ventured to use only 10 days earlier.

It had all been intended for this to be the act of "unity of all Peronists for national unity," and a "civic tribute" to Juan Domingo Peron, putting an end to 6 years of "political ban." At 1930 hours on that Friday, in the drawing room on the first floor of the Hotel Castelar, above the door on Avenida de Mayo, there were 500 persons waiting for the procession of the seven planned speakers from different internal movements. A gray-haired gentleman with a worried look sought out the main organizer, Torcuato Fino, and told him: "We must be careful, there is something strange floating in the atmosphere. There may be problems...."

The party's spokesman replied: "Yes, it does seem that there is something strange, but be calm, nothing will happen...."

At 1940 hours, Deolindo Bittel, Angel Federico Robledo, Nestor Carrasco and other personages of the Peronist top echelons were seated in the first two rows of arm-chairs opposite a table on which there were two microphones. The opening was as usual: the national anthem (with hands held up, making a V), the Peronist march and cheers for Peron, Evita and Isabel. The master of ceremonies announced the first speaker: Alejandro MacCloud, Torcuato Fino's secretary. From the sidelines, the first aggressive murmurs were heard: "Neither Yankees nor Marxists, Peronists," while an increasing apprehension was evident. A group of about 50 persons released "butterflies" with the legend "R-2," interpreted as "Return 2." That group had already been identified as strongly verticalist, and at this point one had the impression that it was attempting to sabotage the meeting.

Each speaker had 30 minutes to expatiate, but the first one could not even take five minutes. Daniel Camil, of MARPE (Peronist Reaffirmation Movement) was the second, and he attempted to get out of the difficult situation by aiming his

verbal artillery at a target that is difficult to miss at any Peronist meeting: the governments of the process begun in March 1976. He discharged the heavy caliber ammunition against them, hailed by the noisiest sector stationed next to the platform, a site that it held very early. There was every indication that no excesses would occur, until Damil mentioned the "honest leaders of Peronism," and a loud, coarse voice asked: "which ones?" backed by the crowd, with the refrain, "Isabel leadership, against all betrayal," which was later followed by "Peron, Evita and now Isabelita." In the front row, Bittel could not conceal his nervousness at such "rarefaction" of the atmosphere, and remarked: "We know all of them, and we know for whom they are working. The true Peronist is not like that." Antonio Caffiero, Dante Loss and the secretary, Dante Tapia Bracamonte agreed with a nod.

At this stage, it mattered little what Damil was saying; everyone was trying to find out what was going on. The most influential leaders asked for calmness, stating that they were at the point of party reorganization and that the challenged leaders could be removed from their positions. But the R-2 members retorted with heavy caliber epithets, and demanded the holding of a rank and file congress, without waiting for the time given by the military government. The shouting did not subside, and bewilderment prevailed in the large room overlooking Avenida de Mayo. The charges multiplied: some claimed that the "services" were to blame, others that it was infiltrated "Montos" and still others that it was the "Lopez-reguists"; while another sector challenged the Plaza de Mayo mothers' group which, when the national anthem was sung, opened their handbags and took out white handkerchiefs to cover their heads.

By 2030 hours, it had all ended. Torcuato Fino (who began organizing this ceremony with Haydee de Pardo and Juan Jose Minichilo, the other two "auditors" in the capital district who displaced Jorge Triaca) requested the microphone from the representative of the Peronist Trade Union Groups (Minichilo), and considered the function concluded when there was complete chaos. The Peronist "notables" (Luder, Robledo and Unamuno) left the room in silence and disappeared. Bittel, with Caffiero and Dante Tapia Bracamonte departed, annoyed, to talk at a table in the adjoining coffee shop. The R-2 militants had remained in the room, chanting little marches and refrains, and jumping around with euphoria.

In this way, the first Justicialist function held after the lifting of the ban ended. Meanwhile, there were some who (not by chance) gave a reminder of 27 October 1981, the day on which the court clerk Bittel received two water bombs in the chest when he arrived at a downtown hotel to decide, with other leaders, whether or not the Peronists would attend the political dialog started by the former Minister Oscar Tomas Liendo. Today, the same issue (dialog or stance toward the government) is still causing complete agitation among the Peronists and intense mobility among all the internal movements.

#### Who Is Who

Which is the true Peronism of the present? A difficult question to answer when one considers the fact that there are at least nine internal movements or tendencies ranging from anti-verticalism to absolute verticalism, and from right to left.



Verticalism is a major pressure device which has influenced Deolindo Bittel (vice-chairman of the Higher Council) and enlisted such leaders as Lazaro Roca (secretary of the council), Carmelo Armerise (former national deputy from La Plata), Humberto Martiarena (former governor of, and senator from Jujuy), Pedro Arrighi (former minister of education under Isabel Peron) and former Deputy Juan Labaque. On the same Peronist "right wing" axis there is also the now weakened "League of Governors" which was founded with the intention of "seeing to it that Bittel does not lose his bearings," as its members say, and in which Eloy Camus (president of the Peronist Congress and former governor of San Juan), Carlos Menem (La Rioja), Mario Franco (Rio Negro), Enrique Cresto (Entre Rios) and Hugo Mott (Catamarca) are leading figures.

But, at the moment, the main political activity (or at least that of the greatest scope) is centralized in the "Justicialist Coordinating Group" headed by Angel Federico Robledo, which has its center of operations at 550 Solis. It is claimed that the "notables" are grouped in the same Peronism, and one often sees gathered together Alfredo Gomez Morales, Ernesto Corvalan Nanclores, Raul Arauz Castex, Italo Luder, Benito Llambi and Ricardo Guardo. Converging in this internal line are other variegated personages, such as Manuel de Anchorena of Buenos Aires (former ambassador to London, removed from the Buenos Aires government by the candidacy of Oscar Bidegain) and the "Intermediate Generation" of Dante Loss, Roberto Grabois, Sergio de Carolis, Juan Chamero and Carlos Maldonado. Also added during recent weeks was Jose Francisco Figuerola, with his Center of Communitarian Studies and Planning (containing an interdisciplinary team of Justicialist technicians), which expresses itself through the magazine TEMATICA 2,000, and the former municipal superintendent, Leopoldo Frenkel (he lasted a week in 1974) who, with another group of technicians, puts out PENSAMIENTO Y NACION.

At the other end of the spectrum (the left) there is "Peronist Intransigence," the group organized by the former senator from Catamarca, Vicente Leonidas Saadi, in which Nilda Garre (wife of Juan Manuel Abal Medina), Jorge Vazquez (Campora's undersecretary of foreign relations), Mario Campora (nephew of the former president), Jose Sarraabayrouse Varangot and Alicia Oliveira are militants. Associated with this group is the "National House of Culture," headed by the poet Jose Maria Castineira de Dios, editor of the newspaper LA VOZ (of those who have no voice, claims its slogan), which will appear in August, according to a comment made in Peronist confidential circles.

Julio Romero's "Harmonizing Movement" did not succeed in occupying the political space that existed a year ago in the party spectrum, despite the efforts of former Senator Humberto Romero (son of "Don Julio"), Guillermo Hermida, attorney Jose Rampoldi and the insurance trade unionist Jose Baez. This movement also had at the outset the participation of Robledo (he broke off when Romero went to live in Paraguay), and its goal was to combine all the internal movements; but among the Peronists it is said that "two greats clash...there is no room for both." According to others, Galtieri's fall resulted in extinguishing the star of Romero, because the two are close friends.

The complicated internal mosaic is completed by the action of the trade union branch, headed by the "62 Organizations," and with political backing from the economist Antonio Caffiero (now very close to Bittel). The "62" (political wing of

the Peronist trade union movement) has personages in it such as Lorenzo Miguel, Diego Ibanez (private oil producers), Rogelio Papagno (construction), Rodolfo Ponce (grain elevators) and Juan Jose Minichilo (commerce), and the adhesion of CGT [General Labor Confederation]-Brazil, led by Saul Ubaldini. Lorenzo Miguel no longer has his previous power in the Metal Workers Union (many important locals, such as the capital, Avellaneda, and San Martin are opposed to him); but it is claimed that his political career is assured by the "Peronist image" that 4 years in prison lent him. "Lorenzo is a victim of the current process and of the military," is the comment heard among his associates. Based upon what has been learned, the "62" still maintain a "hard" position toward the possibility of the political leadership's holding dialog with the government, although no one firmly denies the fact that Miguel and some of his associates are holding underground talks with major military chiefs. No such hardness (obviously) is evident in the CGT-Azopardo, which includes Jorge Triaca (plastics), Juan Horvart (ATE [State Workers Association]), Juan Rachini (carbonated water) and Ruben Marcos (UOM [Metal Workers Union]), in addition to the non-Peronists Ramon Baldassini and Luis Etchezar (The Brotherhood).

With this entire labyrinth of conflicting interests and sectorial struggles, the court clerk Bittel is attempting (with all types of balances) to achieve party normalization according to the rules of the future statute, avoiding mention (for the present) of an explosive issue: what to do with Maria Estela Martinez de Peron.

#### Radicals: Casting a Shadow

The lifting of the political ban found the Radical Civil Union with its dispute between Balbinists and Alfonsinists in full force. According to many, the first round of the Radical "internal" battle will take place on Saturday, 17 July, when 91 delegates of the 95 all over the country (the four from Rio Negro are not participating because the provincial committee is being audited) will meet on the third floor at 1660 Tucuman to decide whether Arturo Illia is to replace Carlos Contin (or not). There may be far more than rhetorical fencing among the members of "National Line" and "Renewal and Change," although it is not known what position will be assumed by "Yrigoyenist Affirmation," Luis Leon's group, which is as far removed from Contin as from Alfonsin. "Leon will never give his delegates to Alfonsin," is the comment made in party circles.

But at the Radical House, there are already some who are sharpening their pencils. They say that at the plenary "National Line" will have 53 delegates, the Alfonsinists 20 and Leon between 12 and 15. The "Cordoba line" (like all the provinces) has four delegates: three are answerable to Illia and one (Horacio Garcia) to "National Line." The issue as important as the internal negotiations held to establish the party's position toward the Bignone government. It is claimed that Carlos Contin received some "suggestions" from the Balbinist "popes" to keep his distance from the government, and that Antonio Troccoli, Juan Carlos Pugliese, Cesar Garcia Puente and Juan Trilla will back him to continue heading the Radicals. This would enable those front-line Radical leaders to avoid wear and tear, with a view toward a more important goal: the candidacy for the presidency of the nation.

This topic is already scented in the Radical corridors, and it is said that the number one individuals will be Antonio Troccoli (Balbin's favorite disciple) and

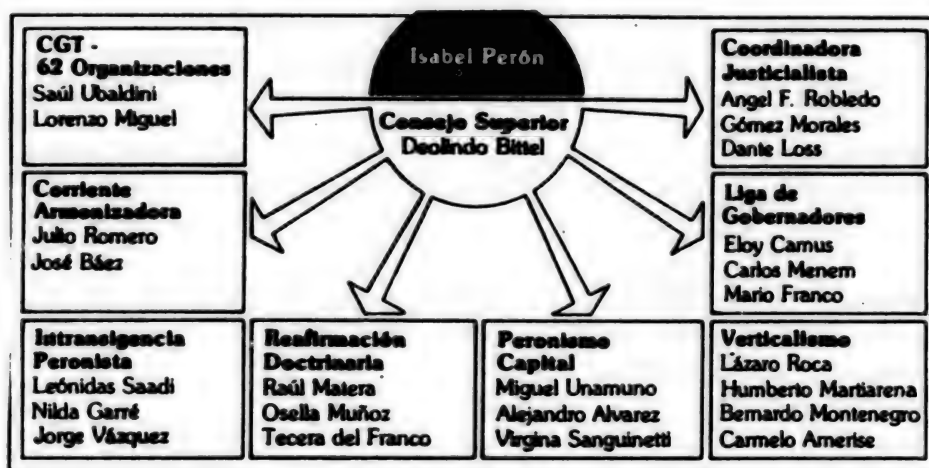
the economist Juan Carlos Pugliese. Cesar Garcia Puente (according to his associates) will aspire to remain in Buenos Aires Province as chairman of the committee currently governed by Pugliese; and Juan Trilla, after 8 years as head of the capital committee, will seek a place on the national committee. In Cordoba, Eduardo Angeloz and Victor Martinez will vie for the chairmanship of the committee, but it is claimed that Martinez will have a better "showcase" than Angeloz.

Nevertheless, in confidential Radical circles it is said that, over and above the results of the plenary session of 17 July to determine whether Contin or Illia will head the party, the important thing is the rebirth (with full strength) of the political action commission now headed by the doctor from Cruz del Eje. It is no secret among the Radicals that this commission (which includes Troccoli, Pugliese, Garcia Puente, Garcia Leyenda, Angeloz and Facundo Suarez) will be expanded from 13 to 24 members, and will have a fundamental mission: to diagram the party strategy. Thus (it is speculated), Illia will have the political control and will become a kind of parallel president.

#### Federals: For a Return

The Federal front is actually far more separated than united. The document in which elections are requested before 30 March 1984 was written by a commission comprised of Ismael Amit, Guillermo Belgrano Rawson, Alberto Carranza, Ricardo Balestra, Ramon Marque and Alfredo Meniguren. A draft of that document was submitted (before its publication) to Foreign Minister Juan Ramon Aguirre Lanari (from the same party as Ricardo Balestra), who gave it his approval, particularly in the future evolution of the Malvinas situation. In some of the offices that are usually visited by the Federal leaders when they come to Buenos Aires, mention has been made of something new: that FUFEPPO [Popular Federalist Forces] might go so far as to support the Justicialists in an election for the president of the nation, "provided the candidate convinces us," it was noted. Who could those candidates be? "We preclude the possibility of their being Luder, Robledo or Caffiero. We would be more pleased with Alejandro Orfila," commented a front line FUFEPPO leader, who will also propose a change in the name of the Federal movement, because "it is by now outworn and very closely attached to the military government." It is also known that some winds of alienation are blowing, including those among the democrats of Mendoza, who are quite dissatisfied with the current leadership of the force (and the loss of political support by one of its leading figures, former Minister Amadeo Frugoli) and among the Corrientes autonomists, headed by Jose Antonio Romero Feris.

A complex network of factional interests makes up the Peronist chessboard at present.



Key:

1. Higher Council
2. CGT-62 Organizations
3. Harmonizing Movement
4. Peronist Intransigence
5. Doctrinal Reaffirmation
6. Capital Peronism
7. Justicialist Coordinating Group
8. League of Governors
9. Verticalism

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## POST-FALKLANDS CRISIS PRESS COMMENT

## Junta, Not Argentina, Lost

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 20 Jun 82 pp 5-A, 13-A

[Commentary by Daniel Samper Pizano]

[Text] Did Argentina lose the Malvinas war? Although recent headlines have been repeating that ad nauseum, I personally think that Argentina did not lose the war, but rather that it was lost only by the members of the high military clique tyrannizing the country. Galtieri's fall is the first effect of that defeat. It is a first effect that for the time being does not change things much, for he has been replaced by other generals who differ from him only in name. However, it will have to lead, over the long term, to a number of internal changes that should mean a victory for the Argentine people over the dictatorship.

Argentina did not lose the war. Before briefly examining why, it would be useful to restate once more some differences and some similarities that tend to become confused in simplistic thinking. First, Argentina's right to the Malvinas is indisputable. Second, that just claim is not erased by the final result of the armed confrontation. Third, the invasion of the islands by Argentine troops was a stupid, senseless act set off by the critical social and political conditions existing in Argentina. However, solidarity with the Argentine cause does not mean solidarity with the military dictatorship; nor does repudiation of the armed invasion mean denial of the country's unquestioned right to the islands.

Once it is understood, then, that the Argentine people are one thing and their rulers are something very different, and that it is necessary to distinguish between an absurd military action and the clear rights it was intended to defend, it is easy to understand why, despite its having signed the surrender, Argentina did not lose the war.

Argentina did not lose the war because this painful confrontation has enabled it to thus shake the country's internal structures; it is possible to envision a relatively rapid shift to a democratic form of government. The life of the military dictatorship was shortened. How and when it will die are predictions that cannot be made for the time being. It is certain, though, that in the last 3 months the Argentine nation has traveled a road it had spent years in taking. We must recall that in the gigantic demonstrations of support for their troops, the



cries against the military dictatorship spread, and grew, and multiplied. The Argentines understood well that national solidarity was very different from support of the government. Labor leaders who had spent years trembling in obscurity abroad reappeared; old leaders of the political parties returned to the stage; Argentine voices that the government attempted to ignore had to be heard. The country learned that a military junta cannot fill the political spectrum. The junta itself needed democratic former leaders to be able to call for national unity, which after having been dashed to pieces some time earlier, was restored instantaneously for the first time. In this sense, the Argentine people won the war.

Repression by the dictatorship, which only occasionally showed its claws in the international press, became a leading news item. The world not only learned that there was a war in the South Pacific [as published] but was able to become acquainted with the government of one of the countries fighting. For millions of people on earth, they were the first true facts that we neighbors know, such as the 15,000 who have disappeared, the torture, the silencing of the press. Galtieri's interview with Oriana Fallaci was devastating. Now, in every corner of the world, people know what has happened in Argentina during recent years. Mere dissemination of this information serves as pressure in favor of human rights in that country. In this sense, too, the Argentine people won the war.

Argentina set out to denounce English colonialism. The stupid armed confrontation ended in England's favor. However, this victory is not enough to drive from the minds of the world's people the resounding truth of British colonialist inertia. When they took Puerto Argentina, the English troops did not find a solution, but a problem. The Malvinas will be a hot potato in the hands of the United Kingdom. They can no longer maintain their century-long silence about the islands, nor can they refuse to negotiate much longer. Moreover, with the Malvinas other colonial enclaves, such as Gibraltar and Guantanamo, have been exposed. The life spans of these enclaves have no doubt been reduced, too. The clearing away of the last vestiges of colonialism should quicken. It has been proven that it is risky to hang on to them. In this sense, the Argentine people also won the war.

Other positive consequences and beneficial confirmation of some hypotheses can also arise from what has happened. For one thing, Latin-American unity was strengthened. For another, Argentina received expressions of solidarity and brotherhood, not from the European countries from which it boasted descent, but from the modest neighbors it had always looked down on. Thus, Argentina has been "Latin-Americanized" by the conflict.

At the same time, through the United States and England something foreseeable has been proven: Political alliances of the horizontal sort will always prevail over vertical alliances that are geographical. The United States will always stand at the side of its large partners, something that is comprehensible although not justifiable. That leads to an obvious corollary proposed in the following terms by the jurist Rafael Nieto Navia during a recent talk at the Colombian Studies Center: "We should learn that the underdeveloped countries of the world have no way of surmounting our world other than by strengthening the bonds of solidarity among us." Various subversive Third-World figures, from Mao Zedong to Franz Fanon, have been saying this for some time. The Malvinas war made it possible to establish that it is true. In this sense, too, the Argentine people won the war.

## NATO 'Propaganda' Rejected

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 20 Jun 82 pp 5-A, 13-A

[Mario Laserna commentary: "What Can We Learn From the Malvinas?"]

[Text] The nations of Indo-Ibero-America would do well to draw from the Malvinas episode conclusions that enable them to properly understand and evaluate the consequences of this singular event. I consider it a mistake to view this conflict as an isolated incident in our continent's relations with the United States and with the countries of the European Common Market. For this sort of confrontation of interests it is essential to find a unifying thread, an overall conception that makes it possible to see apparently disparate deeds as parts of a historic fabric that gives them unity and rational shape to the extent possible within the global context. Searching, thus, for this unifying principle, we arrive at the following conclusions:

1. The underlying conflict in our era in history is the so-called confrontation between the North and the South; that is, the current inequality in the enjoyment of well-being and capacity for consumption between the countries with advanced technology and those that are "developing." In effect, despite Human Rights and Universal Democratic Principles, 1 hour of labor by a worker in a northern country is worth from 8 to 50 times the equivalent effort in a southern country.

2. The North has compounded the irritating difference in the value of labor with a Calvinist/world-emcompassing mentality intended to justify this sort of exploitation. It consists in pluralistic democracy's being taken as the visible sign that a country is one of the "elect" so that it can enjoy the vaunted advantages of high wages. Moreover--oh, miracle of pre-established harmony!--the democratic countries coincide, generally speaking, with the northern countries. With matters thus, those of the South are reprobates, fascistic, violators of the Human Rights proclaimed from the Olympus of NATO, and they do not deserve to have their demands heard (as in the case of the Malvinas or of Gibraltar). At most, they can hope that a Messiah, like Mitterrand at Cancun, will offer redemption through blood and fire. It should be noted, though, that they never speak of differences in wages but rather of how "ugly" the political regimes are that were not born in NATO. Of course, in the present case of Turkey, where the military is governing "as guardians of the constitution," nothing is said, for Turkey has the privilege of being a member of NATO.

3. The immense machinery producing propaganda and distorted images directed against the South under NATO control (and in terms of realpolitik they have a right to do it, but please, then, don't pose as Christian human beings!) dominates, with considerable help from the left, the means of dissemination of news and images in the southern countries, especially those of European origin, as in the case of the Latin American nations. Thus, we remain divided and subject to the Voice of America. Rare exceptions include the case of the Panama Canal and Brazil's rejection of French nuclear tests in the South Atlantic, two episodes in the daily North-South conflict that has a thousand heads and tentacles.

4. The so-called East-West conflict to which Washington tries to reduce all international tension and misfortune is, when examined carefully, a special form of the North-South confrontation; for the non-Western countries under communist regimes chose the Marxist-Leninist gospel as a means of achieving "full development of their forces of production after socializing the means of production." In this way they escaped the exploitation in which they were "victims" of the capitalist bosses. Of course, on developing modern methods and becoming wealthy, they join the club of northerners and change from exploited to exploiters.

5. With matters viewed thus, the Malvinas conflict assumes a completely different aspect from the one the NATO propaganda (and what masters they are at cloaking reality! They deserve the little doktor's Great Cross) has succeeded in giving it. As a result, the United States' role should not be viewed as betrayal but as realism and self-protection; for its interests and obligations take precedence over the purely regional commitments of the nineteenth century's Monroe Doctrine. If NATO is weakened, no St. Lucia or Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty will help. The Argentines, who considered themselves the Latin-Britannic part of Indo-Ibero-America have discovered in a fairly painful way that their genuine geopolitical family is their colleagues south of the Rio Grande, not the barons of NATO, to whom they thought they were so closely related.

6. It is possible that the thinker who envisioned the North-South conflict with the greatest clarity was Simon Bolivar. Under his aegis, we will find the roads of cooperation and solidarity in this contemporary world of lions and gazelles, or of objects and subjects of history, as the noted statesman Paul Henry Spaak said in the 1950's when calling for creation of the European Common Market, "if Europe doesn't want to cease to be a subject and become an object in history." We can wonder: If the Malvinas were owned by a Czech or Soviet whaling enterprise or raiser of goats, wouldn't NATO be the first to raise the cry that the enclave of colonialist aggression should be eliminated?

Thus, let's be realistic and not let ourselves be brainwashed by NATO propaganda that interprets the Malvinas issue as "a case of aggression by a fascist regime against the right to self-determination of some peaceful shepherds protected by Her Majesty Elizabeth II." The Malvinas case, along with Castro's serving as an agent of Soviet colonialism, constitutes the most important episode that has occurred in the Ibero-American region since the wars of independence. To view it in any other light is to fail to take advantage of what a writer called "a stellar moment in human history," which requires us to think clearly and coolly, revising beliefs and changing slogans that decades of propaganda have instilled in us. Only in this way will we be able to act correctly and decisively, preventing the peace and harmony that should rein in the family of nations from being imposed on us by the neo-Calvinists of NATO, with Mr Haig, a Catholic, at their head!

#### U.S. Position Explained

Bogota EL SIGLO in Spanish 24 Jun 82 p 4

[Alberto Schlesinger Velez commentary: "The U.S. Position"]

[Text] After the latest events in the Malvinas case and following internal happenings in Argentina, it is useful to again consider the position taken by the United States.



It is important for Latin America to determine its stance regarding this country very carefully, not letting itself be carried away by the emotional reaction that initially arose with U.S. support of England.

What is happening in Argentina further confirms the untimeliness and unjustifiability of its action. Measures like the armed invasion of the islands can be explained only by the enormous internal crisis that country is undergoing, both economically and politically, where not even the military knows what to do with it.

With or without the Malvinas, sooner or later, what we are experiencing would happen. It is possible that the defeat and the U.S. position are being used by that country's officials as a scapegoat for what is occurring. However, those who have gone through that country's economic and political process in recent years know very well there is another cause and that the error committed in the Malvinas was precisely an effect of that crisis and the deterioration to be found in Argentina.

From a legal point of view, no one denies the rights underlying Argentina's claim. This is something that has been thoroughly demonstrated and that in the end may be the only positive effect of the invasion. The world's attention has been drawn to this problem, a world in which similar or, in many cases, more critical conflicts over sovereignty are taking place. We need only look at the problem of Palestine.

Argentina's precipitate, untimely action undoubtedly placed the United States in a position in which it in fact had something to lose, whatever position it ultimately took.

As a result, we cannot let our regional passions make us lose sight of the choices actually open to the United States.

In terms of support and alliances, it goes without saying that England means much more to U.S. policy than its relationship with Argentina. The present British Government has been its unconditional ally not only within a regional framework but it is also an essential element in Western politics and organization. We are speaking, too, of NATO, of the economic and military balance in Europe, where governments that are of a socialist stripe or simply reluctant to maintain a firm, unified policy have enormously complicated the management of the worldwide balance of power, thus, mutual confidence between the United States and its European allies is essential.

We Latin American countries should be aware of these realities. In no instance may we fail to analyze the true causes and origins of this problem as well as all the factors forcing the United States to adopt the stance we are all familiar with.

Relations with the United States have deteriorated. That country's government has already recognized that, and Secretary of State Haig has said that they will set out to repair the damage.

As for us, the damage can extend as far as we want to take it, but frankly it is not to our advantage to aggravate the problem, nor do the causes fully justify doing so.

## FLORES LIMA GUARANTEES CONTINUING REFORMS

San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 7 Jun 82 p 2

[Excerpts] The Provisional President of the Republic, Dr. Alvaro Magana, yesterday delivered land titles in Santa Tecla to more than 500 former tenants from villages in La Libertad Department, in the sports field, "Adolfo Pineda".

At the table of honor with the provisional president were: Vice President of the Republic Dr Pablo Mauricio Alvergue and Mr Raul Molina Martinez; Gen Jose Guillermo Garcia, minister of defense; Col Adolfo Castillo, under secretary of the same ministry and Col Rafael Flores Lima, chief of the general staff of the armed forces; Director General of the National Guard Gen Eugenio Vides Casanova; minister of the presidency, Dr Francisco Jose Guerrero; president of the Agrarian Lands National Financing Agency (FINATA). Mr Jose Roberto Osorio and other high ranking military officers.

On behalf of the high command, Col Rafael Flores Lima gave a speech emphasizing that "the process of profound structural change, including Agrarian Reform, will never be halted, since it appears in the armed forces proclamation of 15 October 1979 and because its realization and perfection is the desire of the Salvadoran people, as they have shown by going to the polls by the thousands on 28 March," as quoted in the bulletin of the Presidential Household.

The chief of the general staff of the armed forces underlined, "there are many soldiers who have died defending popular aspirations and their sacrifice was not to protect the privileges of a few". The armed forces, he said, are accomplishing the patriotic mandate of the citizenry which does not desire a return to social injustice. Colonel Flores Lima recalled that President Magana has already enunciated the goals of the present government of national unity: pacification, democratization, consolidation of confidence and security; accomplishment of the reforms and respect for human rights, the bulletin adds.

Colonel Flores Lima expressed that any backtracking in the reforms will denigrate the sacred memory of those heroic soldiers who dies bravely in defense of the people, and he ended by exhorting the farmers to sow their fields because they are able to do so and that the armed forces are with the agrarian worker.

### Granting of Titles

The president of the republic, Dr Alvaro Magana, Vice Presidents Molina Martinez and Alvergue, the high command chiefs, the minister of the presidency and the president of FINATA awarded some of the titles.

Employees of FINATA proceeded immediately with the actual work of handing over the titles, which, it was said, amounted to 500, added to the 100 presented last Thursday in Usulután and 200 presented at the Presidential Household on Friday of the previous week, to a total of 800.

San Salvador, 6 June 1982

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CSO: 3010/1843

## MAGANA: PEOPLE VOTED FOR CONSOLIDATION OF REFORMS

San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 5 Jun 82 pp 5, 19

[Text] There is no doubt that one of the things the Salvadoran people voted for on 28 March was perfection and consolidation of the reforms as instruments of social peace, Provisional President Alvaro Magana said at noon yesterday upon delivery of land titles to peasants from all over the country.

We must understand that they [the reforms] constitute the means of fulfilling the mandate for bringing justice, for realizing the aspiration of rising above social conflict and for satisfying the needs of modernizing and developing our country. If we think this way, stated Dr Magana, we ought to understand that the people voted so that such reforms, delayed for so long, would be perfected and consolidated as an instrument of social peace, democracy and development.

To consolidate and perfect them will be a response of the government of national unity to the historical challenges we are facing, the provisional president reasoned.

With the granting of the land titles, President Magana said, we are demonstrating with concrete facts the continuity of the Agrarian Reform process; we wish to clarify and dissipate doubts aroused in recent days, particularly from abroad, which have seen the latest legislative reforms as a step backward.

The chief executive noted he had sent a draft decree to the assembly, asking for the annulation of Decree 207 for the agricultural year 1982/1983 in order to stimulate cultivation of cotton and sugar cane. The constituent assembly broadened this to include cereal cultivation and cattle raising.

It is necessary to declare, once and for all, that neither the executive power's draft decree nor legislative decree No 6, affect the rights established by Decree 207 favoring rural workers. Consequently it does not interfere with the agrarian reform process, specified President Alvaro Magana.

The president related that the modifications whose purpose is to create a climate of confidence for productive activity, have provoked worries and unfavorable reactions outside the country. The concerns of rural organizations

have been used by subversives for their own advantage, by spreading throughout the world. the story that El Salvador, after so much bloodshed, has returned to the dark past.

This act [of granting titles], the provisional president affirmed, has as its objective the dispelling of all doubts in relation to the process of reform and of underlining that stagnation is inconceivable since all national governing forces have expressed themselves in favor of the reform process.

We deny categorically that we are backing away from our great effort for social transformation. On the contrary, we proudly affirm that we are a nation united, with a Government and Armed Forces that together with the people have found their way and will resolve problems in spite of any lack of understanding and selfishness, Alvaro Magana concluded.

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CSO: 3010/1843

AD VIEWS NATIONAL POLITICAL SITUATION

San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 14 Jun 82 p 2

[Text] AD, the Democratic Action Party, maintains that the present government "is a provisional regime sustained by a precarious equilibrium of forces which strain against each other in pursuit of their special interests".

This is one of the conclusions arrived at by AD during a recent seminar, in which different speakers analyzed the national political situation.

Taking into account what was mentioned before, said AD, this party reaffirms its confidence in a state of law, and "at the present moment, will double its watch so that the national interest will not be damaged by sectarianism".

AD maintains that economic and social reforms should be studied and analyzed carefully and be evaluated as soon as possible.

About the mission of the constituent assembly, the party states, "The political Constituent assembly, the party states, "The political Constitution of 1950, which served as a base for the one in 1962, is based on republican, democratic and representative principles, as well as on economic freedom and social justice and those are the principles defended by AD. Then, he added: "Accordingly, those principles should be preserved in the new political constitution, it being right that this constitution should serve as a model for the new one that is about to be promulgated."

Finally, AD condemns meddling in our affairs from any country whatsoever, "which should be rejected energetically."

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## POLITICAL REMARKS BY LUIS ECHEVERRIA CRITICIZED

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 6 Jul 82 pp 1-A, 21-A

['Private Network' column, by Manuel Buendía]

[Text] Luis Echeverria has posed the first serious political problem for the winning candidate for the presidency. It would be rash for him to persist in this attitude after Miguel de la Madrid takes over the government.

On 26 May, in Guanajuato, before an audience of university students, Miguel de la Madrid issued a statement which did not seem to make much sense at the time. He said: "If the head of state extends his mandate beyond the constitutional term, to that degree there is damage to the republic and damage to democracy, and a weakening of the actual force of human rights and the other constitutional principles.

"(...) One who has occupied the presidency of the republic cannot intervene in national politics again. It is impossible, in Mexico, to seek enlightened or providential persons. The republic grants a definite term. The one who fulfills it must retire to his residence with the satisfaction of having done his duty, and must not harbor illegitimate aspirations."

At the time, observers thought: Unless the candidate has information on circumstances unknown to the country at present, such a forceful warning does not seem to be warranted.

In fact, it could not be aimed at Lopez Portillo, who had done nothing to interfere in the election campaign and, on the contrary, has repeatedly announced his decision to become completely dissociated from politics as of 1 December, to the point where he has even been given the title "the best ex-president."

As has been evident from the events of recent months, Lopez Portillo actually does not seem to nurture the slightest desire to have anything else to do with politics after he turns over the presidency.

And, insofar as Luis Echeverria is concerned, he has maintained a noteworthy stillness for several weeks, at least ostensibly. This prompted misinformed observers to assume that the quiet attorney had now learned his lesson after the harsh reprimand that his friend and successor, Lopez Portillo, had to give him, against his will.

But on that 26 May Miguel de la Madrid did not speak without reason, and it is obvious that, since then, he has had information to the effect that Echeverria's disposition was again becoming agitated, and hence it was necessary and even urgently required that he be given a public warning so explicit that even he could understand it.

But Luis (the Mexican politician who has sustained the largest number of voluntary attacks of amnesia) had forgotten everything 5 weeks later.

Last Sunday, he made a sensationalist invasion into politics, virtually renewing his aspirations to share the leadership of the country with the officials who have just been elected by popular vote. In a sustained, strident tone, Echeverria managed on his own to gain a prominent place in Monday's news, through the expedient of insulting respectable personages such as Jesus Reyes Heróles. Using language unbecoming a former president, he uttered damaging epithets, such as traitor, disloyal, drunken, etc., against one of the architects of the political reform, under the guise of retrieving all the credit for this action for President Lopez Portillo.

With his affronts aimed at Reyes Heróles, Luis may experience what usually happens to those who spit upwards.

But, apart from the fact that there are offenses with a boomerang effect, this new verbal outburst from Luis (who was only expecting slight provocation of reporters) disclosed the emotional maladjustment of the individual whose emotions are constantly on the verge of exploding, out of irrepressible desires for revenge and notoriety.

This imbalance in personality, added to a cumulative force that nearly tears the buttons from his shirt, has converted Mr Echeverria into one of those "enlightened or providential persons" mentioned by Miguel de la Madrid, not only in his speech of 26 May, but also on several other occasions, in an obvious effort to warn Mexicans about the dangers that lurk behind that type of spurious leadership.

The best tradition, dating back to the time of Cardenas, the most recent reflection of which was Miguel de la Madrid's speech in Guanajuato, therefore, ascribes a contemptible political illegitimacy to all ambitions for meddling in the leadership of the country's public existence that former presidents may seek to fulfill.

Moreover, Mr Echeverria attempted a completely unnecessary recovery of credit for President Lopez Portillo, as if Reyes Heróles were disputing it.

A person with simple but fixed ideas, Luis has put his eloquence in the service of a crusade as fanciful as it is futile, to regain for President Lopez Portillo the sole credit for having thought up, decided on and established the political reform.

At this point, Lopez Portillo does not need lawyers like Luis to be given credit for the political imagination and desire that he applied to that reform. Nor can the hot-headed Luis damage the credit for that same action that belongs to Jesus Reyes Heróles. After all, to observe the course that the Mexican people

are taking, one does not need the candlepower that an "enlightened" man could contribute. The political reform was possible precisely because it is in keeping with this people's maturity.

The personal insults that Mr Echeverria attempted to hurl at Jesus Reyes Heróles are all the more shocking since they did not respond to a need posed by questions from reporters, but rather emerged from the abundance that exists in Luis' heart.

Observers who may know something about how events unfolded at the beginning of this government could testify that, although Reyes Heróles, in his capacity as secretary of government, combated the attempts at supremacy made by Luis, he never hurt the latter personally.

If Luis wanted information on how the campaign to make him withdraw from his activity was planned during those months, he could seek out an important official in the current coordinating office for news media of the presidency, who unquestionably known more about those details than Reyes Heróles does.

Finally, it would be unfortunate if this new faux pas should prevent the highlighting of the successes of the Echeverria government, when the catalyst of time is in action. Luis seems bent on showing that he is not yet ready for the judgment of history, and that his attacks of amnesia are alternately causes for hilarity, repugnance and sadness among the public. In fact, it is increasingly less amusing that the former president should be so obdurate in denying his participation in events wherein his mark has the depth of a crater.

2909

CSO: 3010/1917

## ELECTION DAY REMARKS BY FORMER PRESIDENTS

## Echeverria Denounces Reyes Heróles

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 5 Jul 82 pp 1-A, 15-A, 28-A

[Text] Yesterday, the former president of the republic, Luis Echeverría Álvarez, announced that there was no doubt that political reform would be reflected in the country's internal existence during the years ahead. He claimed that it would be "absurd" for the national oligarchy (the Monterrey group and the Alfa group "involved in the scandalous, fraudulent bankruptcy") to join the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party], or to use their relations with government officials; and, in addition, he launched one of the most violent rebukes condemning Jesus Reyes Heróles, whom he called a traitor, an alcoholic, disloyal and untruthful.

The former chief executive and current head of the Center for Economic and Social Studies of the Third World (CEESTEM) also made similar comments regarding other former collaborators in his administration. For example, concerning former Governor Carlos Loret de Mola, he remarked that he was a "tasteless person," and with regard to "a gentleman, a former finance secretary....What is his name? Ibarra" (referring to David Ibarra Muñoz), he described him as "one who kowtows to the bankers of Mexico."

It was 0840 hours when the former chief executive left his residence on Santiago Street in San Jerónimo and, accompanied by his wife, María Ester Zuno, and some of his children, walked the two blocks, arriving at Polling Booth 142 of District 39, located at 10 Benito Juárez Street.

In a good mood, Echeverría agreed to chat with the scores of reporters who virtually pounced upon him.

Concerning the foreign debt besetting Mexico (estimated at over \$60 billion, one of the largest in the world), he noted that this is a problem afflicting the entire Third World, because of the fact that the crisis in the economic area has become generalized. "At times we fail to view this matter with sufficient clarity, because we cannot see the forest for the trees. It is a general problem, obliging us to make a monetary and commercial reform."

And, in making a brief analysis of PRI, he stated that it was a party on the rise.

## Praise for JLP and MMH

Echeverria Alvarez repeatedly emphasized the enormous value to the country of the political reform enacted by President Lopez Portillo.

And upon being questioned regarding a possible forthcoming presidency in the hands of "technocrats," he retorted: "Absolutely not, by no means. Starting with Mr De la Madrid, who has had a political career since he was very young; as in the case of many Mexican politicians, his first concerns began in his early youth. And he belongs to a generation of politicians with great vision. He is a lawyer, and a cultivated person; he has great technical ability, but there is no doubt that politics will continue to be handled by politicians."

[Question] You ended your term 6 years ago, and you are still being criticized....

[Answer] Fortunately. So long as there is a spirit of criticism toward the government, toward former officials and toward intellectuals, artists or journalists, we shall be living in a democratic regime.

[Question] As a former president, you have experienced a process which many consider normal in Mexico, the so-called "political cannibalism."

[Answer] No, no, it is not cannibalism. It is.....there have been some things in bad taste, slightly vulgar: very high-ranking officials who took part in the last regime began commenting the next day about "that populist regime." They held important posts. A former secretary of finance...what is his name? Ibarra. For 2 consecutive years he talked about populism, paying courtesies to the bankers of Mexico. He had been a high-ranking official in the previous regime. On the day that he turned over the governorship, Mr Loret de Mola was still talking about "the great friend of the people of Yucatan," about the "renewer of Yucatan," and about the federal aid that we had given them. The following day, he changed his opinion. These are tasteless (not to describe them otherwise) aspects of Mexican politics. No, no, it is not cannibalism.

[Question] An alleged rash attempt at attaining supremacy has been attributed to you....

[Answer] But when, within 2 months of leaving the presidency of the republic I was already traveling? First, I spent nearly a year and a half as ambassador to UNESCO; later, I was in Australia and New Zealand, and I continued traveling. That too was invented by the untruthful Reyes Heróles. Pardon me, but it is a fact.

[Question] President Lopez Portillo's administration has 6 months remaining. How would you describe it?

[Answer] It will definitely go down in history, and with good reason; basically, on account of the political reform.

[Question] What is your view on corruption?



[Answer] Corruption is disorder; it is not something typically Mexican. It existed in the past. As you know, there are and there will be corrupt people in all activities.

#### The Electoral Process

According to the former president, this electoral process just held is the culmination of the political reform. "The egalitarian society called for by our candidate, Mr De la Madrid, will have to be such not only in the economic realm, both national and international, but also in the political realm, with the improvement and the intensification of the reform."

[Question] And what responsibility do the political parties bear?

[Answer] They are the leaders for channeling the people's opinion and desires, and as an awareness is acquired of the opportunity that the regime of the revolution has given to the people of Mexico to convey the political opinion of the various sectors of the population, in contrast to what is happening in many countries on all continents, we shall attain higher indexes of coexistence.

[Question] Do you think that there will be no obstacles in the next administration?

[Answer] No, the Mexican revolution has been agrarianist, it has been laborist, it has been nationalist, it has been democratic and it has been anti-imperialist. I believe that everything said by the next president of the republic, our candidate, Mr De la Madrid, has been in that direction. So, the income must be given better distribution. The economic status of Mexico and of the world has fostered a polarization from the standpoint of economic supplies. So, the battle will have to be waged with greater equity in the economic area, which will be the basis for a more extensive democratic existence, for which the political reform just established by the president of the republic is a major factor.

In connection with the strength of the PRI, he said that it has maintained an upward trend, "insofar as we interpret it as a social pact between its rank and file and its state relations. This has been done to a slight extent, and we must analyze what the PRI is. It has been claimed to be the party of the government or the electoral instrument or the government's election office. It is something far more than that. In depth, it is a social pact between the organizations of workers and farmers, of the popular sector and of the state which contributes to its accomplishment, and the pact consists of mutual support. Hence, there is not a thorough understanding of what the party that is in the government is, the governing being an emanation of the party; and, as we begin to observe it as a meeting place of the majority social forces of Mexico with the state, we shall understand it. I believe that the PRI is strong; the party has often had veritable historical personages leading it. The Mexican revolution cannot forget a Portes Gil, a Lazaro Cardenas, a Rodolfo Sanchez Taboada or an Alfonso Corona del Rosal. It has had civilian presidents and civilian-oriented military presidents, members of our glorious National Army; and these great historical figures are the ones that have given our party a great impetus in the past and will, without doubt, do so in the future."

## A Left Wing in the PRI?

Regarding the creation (or existence) of a leftist wing in the PRI, and the clergy's right to vote, LEA replied that, in fact, they are two quite different issues; because the PRI has many nuances and that, "owing to its members themselves, it is an extensive nationalist combination, a broad front, a social pact and a popular front.

"It actually has many nuances. I do not think that the national oligarchy should be in the party, although they may later try to take advantage of relations with government officials. It is absurd that the Monterrey Group, or particularly the Alfa group (the one involved in the scandalous, fraudulent bankruptcy) should be members of the party; although they may later approach the victors, the winning side, isn't that so? Or the great oligarchy that has ties abroad, the big money of Mexico...but apart from all that, I think that it has many nuances and that all should be accepted."

## Reyes Heróles Wanted to Take Credit

When asked about the crisis that the country is suffering, Echeverría (in one of his most aggressive moments) stated, verbatim:

"I believe that there is a series of problems, but this must be viewed as part of the worldwide picture. There is a worldwide economic and moral crisis.

"In many countries, there has been a breakdown in the fundamental values of social life, the family and the economy. All this is reflected in Mexico.

"We must look a little at the worldwide picture in order to realize that, since we are part of the world, there are many things of a negative nature happening in the world which may be reflected among us here; but we shall come out ahead thanks to that opening that the president has started.

"Yes, the president, because when Reyes Heróles in the Secretariat of Government began to disclose surreptitiously that he was the author of the political reform, he was committing an act of treason. From his youth, López Portillo, as a student and then as a young professor of the theory of the state, thought about political reform. It was later assigned to Reyes Heróles and, as you may recall, he started claiming that he was the country's political leader and carrying it out. And, in a historic letter, President López Portillo had to tell him what his guidelines were, so that he would confine himself to them.

"He (Reyes Heróles) used to have a few drinks at 1300 hours in his office; he would drink the first whiskey and begin to think up things.

"They used to criticize us, who drank soft drinks at Los Pinos. I always remembered the evil that alcoholism had proven to be for the people as well as for the high-ranking officials.

"In the afternoon, (JRH) used to think up unreal things, he devised persecution for those whom he considered his enemies, and even the failure that he experienced. This (the political reform) does not belong to Reyes Heróles, who committed an

act of disloyalty upon proclaiming that it was his creation; but rather, it is actually the creation of President Jose Lopez Portillo."

In commenting on the request for foreign observers made by the PAN [National Action Party], LEA said that this was a reaction based on "colonial mentality. It is an historic problem: people who continue to think about foreigners solving Mexican problems in one way or another. It is a lack of political imagination."

A short time earlier, he had accused the PAN of thinking in terms of colonial values, from the time of Maximilian, or Porfirism.

With regard to other parties, he said that they have in mind the universal social revolution.

Finally, upon returning from the voting booth to his residence, Echeverria, who departed for Paris last night to participate as a juror in a UNESCO contest to award a peace prize, detracted importance from the action of foreign espionage and penetration groups: "All countries have espionage services, all of them. There is no government that has not had them from the most remote antiquity. The point is that we must have our own intelligence and counterespionage services.

"It is a problem that the administrative reform provides for; but, in this world, we are being spied upon by the satellites, and that cannot be avoided or countered easily, but only through more effective effort."

#### Aleman Praises Civilian Government

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 5 Jul 82 pp 1-A, 17-A

[Text] Miguel Aleman Valdes declared that Mexico would continue to exist with civilian governments as part of the democratic institutions, owing to the people's desire and the institutional position maintained by the Army. He also expressed the view that the former presidents are not hampering the functions of the chief executive in office, and are only cooperating "as requested."

Arriving to vote at Polling Booth 154 of Electoral District 32, former President Aleman Valdes remarked that Miguel de la Madrid "is able, prepared and informed for coping with the problems that Mexico is experiencing.

"One need only view the horizon to understand what is happening in other nations, and to be pleased with our electoral process and with the reaffirmation of democracy manifested by the country's majorities. The civilian governments have preserved peace and have led to the prosperity that we are experiencing; and Mexicans are quite aware of the fact that the civilian system has upheld liberty."

He added: "The Army has maintained an institutional position with great respect for the democratic process, backing it as an institution, so that the system may continue in effect in Mexico." He denied that Mexico might be the scene of violent changes in the civilian governments, because "our democratic formation is solid, and not only is the country anticipating the solution to the problems, but we also have the capacity to solve them."

He noted that there would be no dictatorships in Mexico, even those of an ideological type, which would change the country's democratic course; because, "we have a deep nationalist awareness, and we shall continue to live for many more years with democratic institutions which emerged from the revolution, and which are strong and secure. It is true that we are facing serious problems and difficult circumstances, but it is also clear that, if we compare the Mexico of several years ago with the current one, we shall find a constant process of development that the institutions resulting from the revolution have given us."

He also expressed his opinion on the relations of the former presidents with the acting president, remarking: "We have no reason to intervene in the president's functions; we are on the sidelines, cooperating within the areas in which this is requested."

He said: "The former presidents, like any other citizen, can voice opinions, but this does not mean that they are acting to hamper the efforts of a government."

Concerning the electoral process, the head of the National Council of Tourism observed that Mexico is a country of institutions which has guaranteed peace.

"The ideological nuances that have been expressed in the elections are a reflection of the democratic strength that the country has, so that those with particular ideas of their own have been able to express them by their vote."

He added: "Thirty, forty or fifty years ago, there were real battles to win a polling booth, and now people come to cast their votes in an atmosphere of peace and democracy, turning the act into a popular celebration."

He stressed that the changes which are under way have no reason to coincide with the statements voiced by radicals, but rather with the reality that is appearing, and the very evolution that the country is undergoing. "The changes are planned and undertaken in accordance with our nation's revolutionary, historic reality."

Aleman Valdes denied that the PRI was a party that has functions only of an electioneering type, or that it was withered by age. "We are a strong political institution, with a solid infrastructure, which has deep roots among the people. Fortunately, we in Mexico have a new government every 6 years, the party becomes reinforced, and there are new people to bolster our realities and our institutions, and to keep our Constitution in force."

2909

CSO: 3010/1917

## GUIDANCE FROM CATHOLIC SECTOR ON POLITICAL, ELECTORAL PROCESSES

Statement by Archbishop Corripio Ahumada

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 27 Jun 82 p 21-A

[Text] The primate yesterday that the Christian faith does not reject political activity. On the contrary, it is valued and held in high esteem. For that reason, he made a plea to the people to take an interest in the public affairs of the country and to vote in the upcoming 4th of June election for the political party whose ideology and political programs seem most appropriate in achieving legitimate goals in economic, political and social matters.

In a message directed to the "conscientious Christians of the archdiocese of Mexico", he warned that if they abstain from voting, they will be abandoning their democratic right to participate in the election of civil government, and they will be neglecting the Christian principle that the Catholic Church requires of its believers regarding dialogue and cooperation with those who constitute secular society. Corripio explained that voting presumes an interest in public affairs prior to the election of officials. He indicated that at the moment of casting a vote, a judgement regarding the programs of the various parties is essential in order to vote according to one's socio-political and economic convictions and one's Christian conscience.

And after the election, a pledge of cooperation will be made with the constituted authority, which having been elected by a majority in a democracy, no longer governs in the name of the party but rather in the name of the entire country.

Lastly, the cardinal emphasized the importance of the role of citizens in the election of civil leaders by voting.

## Anti-Marxism Reminder

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 28 Jun 82 pp 1-A, 16-A

[Text] Religious organizations, headed by the Conference of the Episcopate, Catholic associations presided over by the Catholic Conscience and the Feminine National Civic Association and agencies like the Secretariat of the Archbishopric for the Apostolate of Lay People and the Archbishopric of



Mexico, repeated their plea yesterday to citizens to vote on Sunday, the 4th of July, but they included a reminder that a good Christian cannot be a Catholic and a Marxist at the same time.

All of the organizations agreed that "each citizen has the right and the duty to vote freely in order to promote the good of society."

Circulars from these organizations distributed yesterday among Catholics state: "We encourage you to fulfill this serious obligation of conscience, leaving to your honorable judgement the election of those individuals who will best promote the good of our society and our country."

Some circulars included paragraphs from pastoral letters with respect to the pre-election situation sent by the bishops of Mexico with brief analyses and recommendations, such as the one from the bishop of Jalapa, Sergio Obeso Rivera, which says:

"The Christian should reassess political activity as one of the most noble and effectiveways of serving others by truly promoting the common good. Politics "Mexican style" will not be reorganized nor become more distinguished if Christians do not participate in it in order to instill in it religious points of view, and at the same time, they will be reminded of their legitimate freedom."

#### Seek Justice and Brotherhood

"All of us can practice and demand in our behavior truth, justice, unity and responsibility in our relationships, or we can practice and encourage corruption, concealing the truth, self-interest, cowardice and oppression."

Other circulars include the thoughts of the archbishop of Puebla, Rosendo Huesca, who states: "In the election of officials, the Christian must be coherent in his faith, and therefore keep in mind the precepts of the gospel and the teachings of the Church. That candidates would truly seek justice and brotherhood so that they and the parties that support them would be really honest; that they guarantee, not only in word, but in deed, the respect of fundamental human rights, especially true freedom, including religious freedom."

The statement by the Secretariat for the Apostolate of Lay People says, "Let each person vote for whomever in his judgement is most capable, humanitarian, anxious to favor justice, who gives evidence in his life of honor and service to others, and who is determined and able to defend fundamental human rights and to promote the growth and development of all Mexicans, especially those who are poorest, in the areas of justice and liberty."

9787

CSO: 3010/1797

DOCUMENT ON CHRISTIANS' POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish 21 Jun 82 pp 8-9

[Article by Elias Chavez]

[Text] Without manipulations that take away the freedom to formulate a "sound critical judgement", the Christian in Mexico has an obligation to vote.

However, if he casts his vote "without adequately considering the consequences, then the Christian violates his political responsibility."

The above is contained in a document entitled, "Christians in the Political Arena," published by a group of parishioners from the Cuernavaca diocese who affirm that, "we truly have no reason to separate ourselves from the historical events and processes which lead us toward our future."

Endorsed by Bishop Sergio Mendez Arcio, the "working document" states that the Christian cannot remain at the margin of the electoral process, otherwise he fails to meet "his temporal obligations", and he also fails in his duties to his neighbor and especially in his obligations to God, and puts his eternal salvation in jeopardy.

After explaining that to "formulate a sound critical judgement", reality must be analyzed in the light of the gospel, the document says:

"Above all, it must be stressed that the Christian cannot support with his vote a political trend that seeks to impose a plan on the country which openly or covertly proposes the establishment of a system that historically has resulted in the exploitation of man by man, the attainment of wealth by a few at the expense of the impoverishment of the majority. If the God of the Christians is the God of life, Christians cannot vote for a system which inevitably results in poverty and social violence. It is a death process, in which not only are the basic elements of life lacking, but also in which the seeds of sin proliferate introjected by the injustice which produces it (corruption, lies, deceit, theft, violence etc.).

On the basis of the aforementioned, the document states that "the option for the poor" is fundamental for the Christian at the time of casting his vote. The document explains:

"Jesus certainly did not come to offer a political system. He rejected political Messianism. But the news of salvation he brought to the poor indisputably carried a position and a stand with regard to the political power (and religious power) of the time. The kingdom of God which Jesus proclaims and personifies in Himself is the definitive intervention of God in history. He intervenes in order to bring justice to the poor, the dispossessed and the forsaken. And justice does not mean balancing the scale or as our stingy middle class wishes, to give to everyone what belongs to him by law. (What belongs to the poor by law?) It means to throw the powerful off their thrones and to exalt the humble; to shower the needy with gifts and to send away the rich with nothing. (Luke 1:52-53). And this is not the same as converting the poor into the new rich and the oppressed into oppressors. That is what has happened in the revolutions in the history of our country. It is simply the expression of divine love and compassion; God loves us not because we deserve it; neither does he give to us because we have. He loves us because we do not deserve it, and he gives to us because we have nothing. But it is also for this reason, the expression of the Christian ideal: our ideal is that the wealth of this world is for those in need of it and not to convert those who have it into oppressor and exploiter.

In order to make these ideals a reality, a radical change in the social and political systems is required, according to the document, and the Christian must choose in favor of it, "with the courage that derives from the Spirit."

Or at least choose in favor of that party, trend or system that in practice "proposes approximations and actions although only in part, of the ideals of the Kingdom. This does not in any way mean to accept anti-evangelistic ideologies."

The document explains the counterpart:

"The Christian will not choose in favor of parties that accept, glorify, engender or strengthen: oppressive economic inequality, economic and social exclusion, the imposition of candidates, trade union jingoism, the prepotency of enterprise, lies, corruption...

In our country, all of these are given to us by the established system and by the parties that support it, the parties that only propose modifications to the established system or that tend to make the system worse or do not go beyond proposing superficial reforms."

1057

CSO: 3010/1797

## ABSENCE OF CREDITS TO VOLCANO VICTIMS CLAIMED

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 23 Jun 82 pp 5-A, 29-A

[Article by Porfirio P. Diaz Lopez]

[Text] Pichucalco, Chis, 22 Jun--The mayor of this locality, Manuel Carballo Bastard, said that no official banking institution has granted credits to the farmers that lost their crops, and in some cases their land, because of the eruption of the Chichonal Volcano.

The leader indicated that the only thing that these institutions have done is to require the small landowners and the ejido members of the region to pay off credits due prior to the disaster.

Carballo Bastard is demanding protection for the victims of the disaster because hundreds of complaints have been received in his office against the National Bank of Rural Credit of the Isthmus. He further denied that this official institution has granted any financial aid credit to farmers and small landowners of the area as has been reported.

The mayor stated that the area affected by the disaster is quiet, since the volcano is only emitting small amounts of smoke and is producing slight tremors which are only measurable by instrument. He also stated that General Alberto Quintanar Lopez, commanding officer of the 31st military zone has pulled out his installations in Tuxtla Gutierrez, with the assurance that "everything is quiet here." However, the troops will maintain a permanent vigilance. Carballo Bastard said that a worm called "soldier" has appeared in the area and has destroyed pastureland in the northern part of the state. It also destroys corn and bean plantings in addition to fruit trees.

9787

CSO: 3010/1797

## STUDIES SAY SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN CORN PRODUCTION THREATENED

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 18 Jun 82 pp 4-A, 34-A

[Article by Carlos C. Zetina]

[Text] The official decision to maintain and consolidate self-sufficiency in corn production--attained in 1981--is threatened by several factors which directly or indirectly affect the crop on which some 16 million Mexicans make a living: pests and diseases, small farms and monoculture, obsolete planing systems, high costs of production, growing commercial and animal consumption, unfavorable climatological conditions and others.

It is estimated that corn consumption by the year 2000 will amount to 25 million tons, while last year's production was 14.7 million tons, hence greater efforts must be made by the producers, the private sector and the government.

The foregoing is gathered from the thorough studies taken by the National Institute for Agricultural Research (INIA) and the Corn and Wheat Programs Coordinating Office of the Secretariat of Agriculture and Water Resources.

It is asserted in the research conducted by the Corn and Wheat Programs Coordinating Office that it is necessary to bring about the organization and the "conscientious and timely" participation of the peasants, make maximum use of technology in the fields used to grow that basic grain, and plan and program the agriculture over the long term according to the projections of the demand 20 and 30 years in the future.

It is added that the required adjustments in the short- and intermediate-term programs must be carried out. Also, it is absolutely necessary to definitely improve the whole marketing system of the production, as well as of the food products, taking into consideration selling prices, storage and transportation "in order that this will constitute the backbone that will impart true economic stimuli to the farmers and the cattlemen."

"Agriculture," it adds, "is exposed to seasons of drought and/or freezes. Therefore, we must expect years when the production is insufficient to meet the increasing demand for corn until the population stops growing. If production is not increased and food supplies built up to take care of the estimated demand and the biggest sporadic shortfalls of the years of unfavorable production, it



should not surprise us if, in some years, the grain imports of 1980, as well as its consequences, would seem to us to be insignificant."

It is recalled that the present-day Mexican possibly consumes--on a national average--less tortillas than his 1940 counterpart, especially the Mexican living in a large city. And it is estimated that per capita corn consumption will decrease even more in the future.

That apparent contradiction is explained in the following manner: "the economic, social and cultural development and the industrial progress in the past 41 years have brought about important changes in the national diet. That, plus an absurd overconsumption in urban centers and even in the rural areas."

Actually, it is noted, "when we consume more meat and eggs, we indirectly use up more corn, and also larger amounts of sorghum, wheat and oleaginous pastes when we use those grains as animal feed."

The number of commercial products whose raw material is corn increases all the time, and also their consumption: oils, starches, flours for hot cakes, corn flakes, "maizoro", alcoholic beverages, popcorn, corn syrup and others.

#### Much Corn is Diverted

It is added that overconsumption in urban centers is the cause of the greatest waste of food, and it is explained that, 2 years ago, the consumption of corn in Mexico amounted to 13 million tons that could be broken down as follows:

Some 7 million tons went for direct consumption (tortillas, ears of green corn, tamales, atole, pozole) on a yearly basis of 104 kilograms per capita for 67.4 million Mexicans; 3 million tons for animal feed mainly in informal ventures of rural communities and, to a lesser extent, in commercial exports; 150,000 tons for seed to plant 8 million hectares a year; 400,000 tons for raw material in the manufacture of starches and oils, and for other industrial uses; 2 million tons for losses in the handling and storage of the product (due to damage by grain moths, weevils and fungi); and 450,000 tons for other uses.

It is also stated that the problem created in the 1970s and which resulted in the extraordinary import of 3.36 million tons of corn had its origin and explanation in the following:

1. Production of corn increased consistently in the period 1940-1981, displaying fluctuations that were due mainly to changes in weather conditions, variations in the extent of the cultivated areas, and the increasing use of technology in cultivation.
2. National corn production was insufficient until the end of the 1950s, exceeded the demand in the 1960s, and definitely could not meet the demand in the 1970s.
3. The national demand for corn grew explosively in the 1970s because of the population increase but also, and yet more importantly, because of the growing

per capita consumption that has caused demand to rise at a faster rate than expected.

4. Actually, the demand for corn for direct consumption by human beings in all the years of the period in question (1940-1981) was theoretically supplied by production, even in the years of severe drought such as 1979.

In that respect, it is asserted that the demands of the food industry are the first to be supplied by a more efficient system of purchase of that grain, competing favorably with the national supplying of corn for direct consumption in urban centers. "This is the source of the political and social pressures that became evident mainly in the 1970s," it adds.

On the other hand, it is stated that, if the current trends in corn consumption persist and the population reaches 100 million inhabitants by the year 2000, as predicted, the demand for the grain could be 248 kilograms per capita and 25.2 million tons nationwide, as compared to 190 kilograms and 13.3 million tons, respectively, in 1981.

It is also asserted that the demand for corn in the year 2000 could decline if it is considered that sorghum could contribute more toward the feeding of animals and the food industry demands.

It is added that there are optimistic estimates that the Mexican population will stop growing by the year 2000, "and that is what is needed."

Finally, it is noted that the experience of the past 41 years indicates that we can expect maximum growth in corn production if the use of technology in the national agriculture is increased progressively, swiftly and continuously, "in a compulsory manner in the irrigated areas, and in a steady and progressive manner in the seasonal zones."

#### Threats to Corn

According to the study made by the INIA, several factors affect corn productivity as a result of the diversity of ecological conditions under which cultivation is carried out. Such factors come under the headings of ecological, biotic, technological and socioeconomic.

Among the ecological factors are noted the climate, the altitude and the latitude. In this respect, it is recalled that corn is cultivated from the Guatemalan border to the U.S. border, along the seaboard, and from sea level up to altitudes above 3,000 meters. This broad gamut is complemented by a diversity of temperature combinations that range from hot, humid and dry, to temperate, and to cold and humid of the high valleys and the sierras of the country. All of that produces droughts or freezes, excessive rains which cause floods, windstorms and hurricanes that damage the crops.

The soils are also a very important factor in corn productivity on account of low fertility, shallowness, hardness, steeply inclined topography, rockiness, erosion problems, presence of salt and poor drainage.

The INIA asserts that, among the biotic factors affecting corn, the plant itself must be considered first. And it explains that the main limitation to productivity in the majority of the regions producing the grain is the preponderant use of native varieties of corn, which have a limited adaptability and a low yield.

Corn, it is added, is attacked by various diseases which affect it in varying degrees in the different producing regions of the country. The main diseases are stunting, northern smut, mildew, rust or chahuixtle, smuts such as huitlacoche and the one affecting the spike, and rotting of the stem, roots, cob and kernels.

It is conservatively estimated that the pests affecting corn are to blame for a loss of 15 percent to 20 percent of the national production. Among the major pests are the sodworm, corn-shoot worm, corn earworm, cornstalk-borer worm, thrips, plant louse, boll weevil and red spider mites.

Besides, the INIA says, the cultivation of corn in Mexico is carried out under a variety of farming procedures that range from the slash-and-burn method to the use of animal traction and farm machinery, from the deficient to the adequate seasonal lands; under conditions of natural moisture and irrigation. The traditional technology, with its marginal effectiveness, is used much the same as the highly technical methods of cultivation.

In general, it adds, in the seasonal areas, there is a limitation or a lack of [line missing] of the methods to combat the pests and the weeds, which only allows yields that are always less than a ton per hectare.

As regards the socioeconomic type of factors directly or indirectly affecting corn, the following are mentioned:

- a) Monoculture and small farms;
- b) High cost of production and product prices that hold little attrition for the peasants;
- c) The small use of the improved varieties, and the limited distribution of the improved seeds, whose physical and genetic qualities should always be better;
- d) The small publicity afforded to the new technologies;
- e) The inappropriate distribution of food products;
- f) The insufficient credit and the lack of opportunity in the supply end;
- g) The lack of experience of producers; and
- h) The lack of capital of the producers themselves.

## BRIEFS

INVASION OF 16 PUEBLA ESTATES--Puebla, Puebla, 15 Jun 82--Miguel de la Cueva, secretary general of the Sierra Oriente Regional Cattlemen Union, reported that 16 estates in the municipalities of Cuitzala, Ayotoxco and Tenampulco have been illegally taken over by peasants belonging to the PSUM [Unified Socialist Party of Mexico] and the Workers Socialist Party (PST). He added that the intruders took over the lands by force, but "the property owners are not inclined to respond to the aggression because they also would run afoul of the law." He stated that they trust the state authorities will recover their lands. He pointed out that Gov Guillermo Jimenez Morales promised them that he would act according to the law to return those estates to their rightful owners. De la Cueva thought that the occupied lands are not under litigation, and neither do the intruding peasants have any claims to them on the basis of a presidential resolution. He added that the State Prosecutor's Office is conducting an investigation to arrest those responsible for the land takeovers. [Article by R. Vega y Crespo] [Text] [Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 16 Jun 82 p 37-A] 8414

SALVADORANS, GUATEMALANS ARRESTED--Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua, 15 Jun 82--Twelve Salvadorans and eight Guatemalans who had illegally entered the country were approached by migration agents at kilometer marker 28 of the Pan-American Highway and the local railroad station. When reporting the foregoing, Jesus Cedano Barona, delegate of the Interior Secretariat, said that the undocumented persons will be taken to the nation's capital to be deported to their countries of origin. The detainees refused to divulge the names of the persons who illegally brought them into the country and intended to take them to the United States. [Text] [Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 16 Jun 82 p 37-A] 8414

NEW AMBASSADORS RECEIVED--New ambassadors Leopoldo Benitez Vinueza, of Ecuador; Fakhri Ahmad Qasim al-Qaysi, of Iraq; Tadhg O'Sullivan, of Ireland; and Reginald Lightbourn Wood, of the Bahamas, yesterday presented their credentials from their governments to Foreign Affairs Secretary Jorge Casteneda. The ceremonies took place in the office of the Secretary at 1130 hours. Leopoldo Benitez Vinueza is a graduate of the University of Guayaquil in social and political sciences and holds honorary doctorates from the universities of Montevideo, Guayaquil State and Seton Hall, New Jersey. Fakhri Ahmad Qasim al-Qaysi, the Iraqi ambassador, entered the foreign service of his country in 1952. He has filled several posts in various countries and has acted as general director of

public affairs, of cultural and artistic affairs, and of economic affairs of Iraq. Tadhg O'Sullivan, the Irish ambassador, has acted in the same capacity in Nigeria and Austria. He was the assistant director of the Department of Foreign Affairs of Ireland in 1980. He entered the foreign service of his country in 1949. Reginald Lightbourn Wood, the Bahamian ambassador, has been accountant of the Ministry of Education, comptroller of the Treasury Department, deputy governor of the Inter-American Development Bank, treasurer of the Bahamas, and adviser and member of the delegation to the conferences of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. [Text] [Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 16 Jun 82 p 38-A] 8414

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